

REPORT  
OF  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE,  
COMMUNICATING

*The report of the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who was recently sent out by the government to obtain information in respect to Liberia.*

SEPTEMBER 14, 1850.

Read.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1850.

Ordered to be printed.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

*Washington, September 14, 1850.*

In compliance with the resolution of the Senate of the 2d ultimo, requesting a communication of the report of the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who was recently sent out by government to obtain information in respect to Liberia, the Secretary of State has the honor to transmit herewith a copy of the said report.

DAN. WEBSTER.

TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, *February 15, 1850.*

SIR: The results of my observations and inquiries during a recent visit to the republic of Liberia, and also to the colony founded by the Colonization Society and State of Maryland at Cape Palmas, under your instructions, I have now the honor to submit to the consideration of your department, and to the President of the United States.

On the 1st of August, I took passage at Baltimore in the Liberia packet, which made Cape Mount, on the African coast, on the morning of the 18th of September. For several days previously the aspect of the tropical heavens had been rich. The sun rose over Africa through a gorgeous drapery of clouds, in which were blended all brilliant hues; and when he sunk into the ocean, one was reminded of those Italian sunsets of which Chateaubriand said, "it seemed as though all the purple of Rome's consuls and Cæsars were spread out under the last footsteps of the god of day."

When we first saw Cape Mount, the day was delightful; and, with a gentle breeze, and in full view of the shore, which curves gently round from that eminence to Montserado, (a distance of more than forty miles,)

we sailed down the coast, and in the evening cast anchor at *Monrovia*, as the light-house on the summit of the cape began to emit its beams, and the illuminated dwellings and churches of the town gave evidence of the fact that civilization and Christianity had there established their abode.

From my experience of two months on the coast of *Liberia*, I may be allowed to say, that my impressions of the African climate are more favorable than those I had derived from books, for, though our arrival occurred during the latter portion of what is termed the rainy season, and we continued on the coast during most of the transition period from that to the dry season, the weather was generally clear and pleasant, and we were seldom deterred for an entire day from visiting the shore, or from moderate physical exertion.

During the African rains, strangers notice, not only an extraordinary moisture in the atmosphere, but a peculiar power in the sun's rays, though the heat at all seasons is less, as indicated by the thermometer, than that occasionally known in the United States. We passed through what is called the tornado season without experiencing any storm which could with propriety be termed a tornado; and the weather during the whole time we were on the coast was not greatly different from the ordinary summer weather of our own southern States.

No one can look upon the athletic, finely-proportioned and developed forms of the native Africans, or upon a congregation of the inhabitants of *Monrovia*, or of the other towns and villages of the *Liberian* republic, and retain the idea that health cannot be enjoyed on the African coast. The general aspect of the people of *Liberia* is healthy; and I am convinced, from much observation and many inquiries, that the dangers of the climate to colored immigrants are becoming less and less formidable, and that soon they will, to a good degree, be averted, by the cultivation of the soil, an appropriate regimen, and increased medical experience and skill. I have seen large families in *Liberia*, who, after a residence there of some years, had suffered no invasion from death, and who, doubtless, found their security, under Providence, in their watchfulness against excesses in diet and exertion, in a moderation approaching to abstinence, in the use of medicine, and in the possession of ample supplies of the necessaries and comforts of life. The friends of our colored people, and of the republic of *Liberia*, cannot be too emphatically reminded that to send emigrants with inadequate supplies, to feel all the depression of want, while exposed to the untoward influences of the African climate, is an error which must often prove fatal to human life, and sadly injurious to their great enterprise. Far better is it to enable a few immigrants to establish themselves in health and comfort in *Liberia* than to cast large bodies of them on that shore, with no sufficient means of subsistence, during the time when such means can be secured by no exertions of theirs—thus augmenting vastly the perils of their condition, or imposing burdens upon the charity of that but recent community which its citizens must find it difficult, if not impossible, to sustain.

Having visited Africa in my youth, and witnessed, in company with the distinguished and lamented Ashmun, the first buddings of civilized and Christian life on Cape Montserado, it may be readily imagined that I could not, after a quarter of a century, look again upon that verdant promontory,—that I could not again tread the streets of *Monrovia*—that I

could not meet those who, so many years ago, extended to me their hospitalities—could not behold that humble community, who, when I first stood there, were making some narrow openings in the dense forest, and sheltering themselves beneath some thirty or forty thatched roofs, few, feeble, and exposed to barbarous foes, now risen, through the favoring hand of the Almighty, by their fortitude and energy, to the elevation of an independent republic, acknowledged as such by two of the most powerful nations,—without a deep sense of the Divine goodness to the people of Liberia, and to the writer, in that he was permitted to see on that shore the renovating power of a government of constitutional liberty, pervaded by the Christian spirit and encompassed by the highest motives to beneficence.

On our arrival, several vessels were moored in the harbor of Monrovia, (among them the American man-of-war-schooner *Decatur*, Captain Byrne, and the *Lark*, a small, beautiful armed vessel, presented to the authorities of Liberia by the English government;) and, as we dropped our anchor, the steamer of her Britannic Majesty which had brought out the commercial treaty ratified between Great Britain and the republic was taking her departure. The reception of this treaty was announced by the thunder of cannon from the heights of Monrovia and the summit of the cape, and signalized by mutual congratulations among the citizens, and by signs and expressions of universal joy.

To President Roberts and the members of his Cabinet I am indebted for information on a great variety of topics, cheerfully communicated in every instance; and to the courtesy of these gentlemen, and to that of the officers and citizens of the republic generally, for united and zealous endeavors to open to me all avenues for a personal examination of the condition, relations, and prospects of their commonwealth. The people of Monrovia, and of the neighboring settlements, after due notice, assembled in a public meeting, and appointed a committee of five of their number to report on the state and prospects of the republic; and their example was imitated by the citizens of the two counties of Grand Bassa and Sinou.

The facts and statements I have the honor to submit, in reply to the questions specified in my instructions, were derived from the best testimony and sources of information to which I could find access; and, though I have not the vanity to imagine that they are tinged by no error, I have confidence that in the main, and in all essential particulars, they are correct.

In regard to the "limits within which the republic claims and exercises jurisdiction," it should be stated, that the territories both of the republic and of the Maryland Colony founded at Cape Palmas are included under the general name of Liberia. As the result of actual purchase from the native proprietors, the republic holds political jurisdiction over the country from Manna, a point bordering on the notorious Gallenas, on the northwest, to Grand Sesters on the east, a distance, on the coast, of three hundred and fifty miles, with an average extent interior of forty miles—the boundary line enclosing a space of about fourteen thousand square miles. The authority of the Maryland Colony extends from Grand Sesters to the river Pedro, a distance by water of one hundred and twenty miles, and by land of one hundred and forty or fifty miles. Important acquisitions of territory have been made within the last few months by the re-

public, and also by the Maryland Colony. In 1826 Mr. Ashmun spoke of Gallenas as within the prospective sphere of Liberian influence; and the entire recent overthrow of the slave trade by the English at that point, and the measures now in progress to secure its annexation to the republic, give confidence that this expectation will soon be realized.\* For the purchase of Gallenas, a wealthy English friend has promised President Roberts one thousand pounds; and an equal amount is offered by one of our citizens, a gentleman of Ohio, for the same object. The most important points on the coast of Liberia, southeast from Gallenas, are *Cape Mount*, rising 1,060 feet above the sea, in latitude  $6^{\circ} 49' 25''$  north, and longitude  $11^{\circ} 23' 15''$  west; thence near fifty miles, *Cape Montserado*, on the summit of which, 240 feet above the ocean, stands a light-house, and 150 feet lower down, and one mile back, the town of *Monrovia*; southeast thence thirty-five miles, *Junk river*, and near its mouth a settlement bearing the illustrious name of *Marshall*; onward thirty-five miles, *Grand Bassa*; thence five miles, *Tobacumee*; further on seven miles, *Young Sisters*; thence four miles, *Tradetown*; after these, in succession, *Little Culloh*, *Grand Culloh*, (easily recognised by Tobacco Mount, a conical hill 880 feet high,) *Cestos*, *Singwin*, *Baffou*, *Tassou*, *Little Bootou*, *Grand Bootou*, *Sinou*, and *Bloburia Point* opposite, (distant about 80 miles from Grand Bassa,) *Kroubah*, *Little Krou*, *Seltra Krou*, *Manna Krou*, *King Wills Bay and Town*, (these five towns including all most properly termed Krou or Kroo people,) *Little Nifou*, *Middle Nifou*, *Great Nifou*, *Pickamny Sisters*, and *Grand Sisters*, the present extreme southern limit of the republic.†

From this limit commences the jurisdiction of the Maryland colony, along the shore of which we may specify, as prominent points, *Garroway river* and *Point*, *Fishtown Point*, *Middle Point*, *Rock Town*, *Cape Palmas*, (a place of great beauty and natural advantages, and the site of *Harper*, the principal town of the colony,) *Cavally Point*, *Tabou*, *Grand Tabou*, *Basha Point*, *Wappoo*, *Poor Point*, *Half Bereby*, *Grand Bereby*, *Takou Point*, and *San Pedro river*, the eastern boundary of this colony. The republic of Liberia is divided into three counties—those of *Montserado*, *Grand Bassa*, and *Sinou*—each of which is entitled to a representation in the house of representatives and senate of the State. Mr. Ashmun judged this maritime region of Africa to extend inland about twenty miles; and he remarks: “Between the settlements of the coast and those of the interior is, in most places, a forest of from half a day to two days’ journey, left by both as a barrier of separation, and which is seldom passed, except by erratic traders, who are, in many parts of this country, very numerous.” The Rev. John Day, the intelligent superintendent of the Southern Baptist Mission, who resides at Bexley, on the St. John’s, and who has travelled into the interior to the distance of seventy or seventy-five miles, thus describes the country: “From seven to twenty miles the country is beautifully undulating, and interspersed with the most lovely rills of excellent water, clear as crystal, foaming and seething among the rocks, presenting a thousand mill-seats. The air in that region is salubrious and bracing, the soil deep and rich, covered with a forest which, for the height and size of the trees, I have never seen equalled. From twenty to thirty miles is a region of small mountains, of from three

\*This event has occurred since this report was written.

†Sailing directions—see appendix, I.

to five hundred feet in elevation. These mountains are covered with a rich forest, and may be cultivated. I have stood on the summit of one of them, cultivated to the top, and thence beheld a delightful prospect. Beyond these hills, or mountains, as we call them, the land becomes generally more level to the distance of seventy miles, the extent of my interior travels. I am told by the natives that a day's walk beyond are loftier mountains, (which it will require a whole day to ascend,) and very steep; if so, the country I speak of is a valley. The soil for the whole distance is rich, water abundant and good, and the cause of disease is no more apparent than in level regions in America. If our people want health, they may as surely obtain it in the mountainous region as by transatlantic trips. I have left home in bad health, on preaching tours of two or three weeks, and returned vigorous and strong. The birds sing more sweetly there, and the flowers are more beautiful and fragrant, than in the marshy region bordering on the sea. The natives are more cheerful, stout, industrious, honest, happy, and hopeful, every way, in that region. To thousands in that forest-clad region have I preached, while they were as attentive even as congregations in America."

In regard to the "population comprised in the republic, and the comparative number of the castes composing it, and their feelings towards one another," I may observe that the emigrant population in the republic is estimated at six thousand, and the native population at one hundred and forty to two hundred thousand. Of the Maryland colony, the emigrant inhabitants are about nine hundred, and the natives estimated at one hundred thousand, separated into numerous small tribes, varying in language, independent of each other in matters of domestic concern, yet slightly united, within certain limits, on questions of general and common interest. The native people of this region of Africa bear a striking similarity in manners, character, and superstitions.

The *Fey* or *Fey* tribe, a people more enterprising, proud, and warlike than most of their neighbors, inhabit the country from Gallenas to Cape Mount, and to the distance of thirty miles inland; have been much addicted to the slave trade, and are probably, in number, from twelve to fifteen thousand. The *Deys* occupy the country on the coast from Cape Mount to Cape Montserado; are more mild, indolent, and inoffensive than the *Fey*s, and perhaps by one-half less numerous. Between the languages of these tribes there is some affinity: both are rude and imperfect, and could be traced by Mr. Ashmun to none of the other dialects of Africa.

The *Bassas* are south of Cape Montserado, are more numerous than both of the preceding tribes, and, with their allies in the county of Grand Bassa, are estimated at fifty thousand. They are described as mild, peaceful, and in certain respects industrious, occupying a country of great fertility, and which, even under their exceedingly imperfect cultivation, yields a large surplus of rice, palm oil, poultry, cattle, and the various vegetables and fruits of tropical Africa—as friendly to the American emigrants, eager for trade, disposed to labor for a moderate compensation, and as much inclined as any of the native people of that country to acquire the manners, the arts, and the habits of civilization.

These people dwell in small villages of from fifty to one and two thousand souls, scattered along the coast, and for some distance in the interior, each governed by a chief and several subordinate headmen, whose

will, though regulated by custom and precedent, has the force of law, and is seldom resisted. Domestic slavery and polygamy are universal; and, in consequence of the purchase of female children from the interior, the number of women is thought considerably to exceed that of the men. In cleaning the farms for rice, in the months of February, March, and April, the men labor industriously; but the cultivation, harvesting, and cleaning of the rice, and all servile domestic duties, are performed by the women. Their arts are few and simple; in manners and dispositions, they are gentle and patient; in their habits of living, abstemious, (rice being the principal article of food;) yet, when excited, they are capable of enduring almost incredible exertion and fatigue.

The native African population of Sinou resemble those of Bassa—are, perhaps, more associated, if not to some extent blended, with the Fishmen and Kroomen, (who are numerous on that region of the coast,) and more connected in traffic with the interior tribes. Like other natives, who occupy positions along the sea shore, they have some knowledge of the English language, and, though somewhat averse to the instruction of their female children, they are willing and desirous that their boys should be taught something of the languages and customs of civilized nations. If the number of their towns be, as reported by the committee at Sinou, about one hundred, they can hardly comprise a population less than from twenty to thirty thousand.

Still further south, we arrive at the country of the Kroomen or Kroomen—a people the most distinct, intelligent, and remarkable to be found on the whole coast of western Africa. The Kroo mark (a black line, much darker than the skin, from the top of the forehead to the end of the nose) has been adopted by those not originally of their community; and their name is usually given by strangers to the people of three different tribes who exhibit this mark—the *Fishmen*, the *Settra Kroo people*, and the people of *Nifou*. These branches of what is *usually*, rather than *properly*, called the Kroo family—united by a common sign, by a language not the same, but so akin as to enable them to communicate with each other, by many general habits of thought, action, and superstition—are bound together by no political ties, and by no peculiarly fraternal sentiments. On the contrary, jealousies, rivalries, and, not unfrequently, hostilities, arise between the Fishmen and those associated under the one and same government at Settra Kroo, where reside the descendants of the original Kroo people, still adhering, with wonderful tenacity, to the laws, traditions, and superstitions of their fathers.\*

In 1842, the Hon. Joseph Deinan gave the following testimony in regard to the *Fishmen* and *Kroomen*, before a select committee of the House of Commons, in England:

“The Kroo coast, I conceive, begins at the river Cestros, (Sesters)—the place known as St. George’s, where Mr. Spence had established a factory several years ago, which has been recently abandoned. The Kroomen occupy only five towns upon the coast, at different places between the river Cestros (Sesters) and the Grand Cestros, (Sesters.) To the northward of that the Bassa people live, intermixed with the Fishmen; and occupying all the coast to the southward of the Grand Sesters are the Fishmen—a different people from the Kroomen: they are often confounded with them, but there is a broad distinction between them.

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See Rev. Mr. Connelly’s testimony—appendix, G.

Intermixed with the five Kroo towns are many Fish places. The Kroomen occupy the interior of the country more than the Fishmen. The Fishmen are entirely upon the coast. Below Grand Sesters they are all Fish towns. The Fish people are much more numerous than the Kroomen. At a place called by the Fishmen Sanceytown, the natives from the interior fought their way down to the beach. *What were they?* We have no means of knowing; they are quite different from any other races that we know of. At this the Fishmen are exceedingly angry, as they consider that they have a title to all the trade upon the coast. They have prohibited all trade with this place, and have committed many outrages against British vessels, and others, who have traded there in spite of their prohibition. The Fishmen are perfect pests to the trade upon the coast: they require keeping in order very much. *Are they principally Kroomen or Fishmen who enter on board her Majesty's ships?* More Fishmen than Kroomen; we cannot employ them together. *Is it the same with reference to mercantile vessels?* I am not aware; but I think the Fishmen are generally preferred, as they are more at home with boats, and more accustomed to live on the water, than the Kroomen. *Do you call those principally Kroomen or Fishmen that live at Sierra Leone?* Both classes exist there, but I am not aware in what proportions. The Kroomen are preferred for domestic purposes; they are more capable of attachment to white people. *Have you any idea what the population is—whether of Fishmen or of Kroomen?* The population of the coast of Fishmen is much greater than that of Kroomen; but I always understood that the Kroomen ran a long way interior, and were an agricultural race. Indeed, if it were not so, I do not see how they could possibly exist against the hostility of the Fishmen, as their numbers on the seacoast are very inferior; they are almost always at war. *Are both the Fishmen and Kroomen exempt from becoming slaves?* They are exempt from becoming slaves. At the only slave factories upon the coast between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas, Gallenas and New Sesters, the work was entirely carried on by Fishmen, but they have a great objection to being slaves themselves; they are in the habit of sacrificing their enemies taken in war to the fetish tree. *Are you speaking of Fishmen or Kroomen now?* Both; I have had opportunities of knowing that that is the fact. *Have you had any opportunity of knowing the domestic condition of the Kroomen or the Fishmen—whether they are under the obligation of slavery to any parties?* No; there is no slavery in the Kroo or Fish country, although the system of every headman having his boys under him approaches something to it. The headman receives all the wages of all the boys under him. Whether that is from family connexion or political institution, I do not know; but the headman receives all the pay of all the boys. *Do you always take on board a headman for every number of Kroomen or Fishmen that you engage?* It is absolutely necessary to have a headman to keep them in order. He generally chooses all the people; we leave it to him to choose them. If Fishmen and Kroomen happen to be mixed up in the same party, there are always quarrels and disturbances; indeed, there is no getting on with them, so strong is the antipathy."

The Fishmen derive their name from their universal occupation in fishing, when not employed by foreigners. They are the largest and strongest men upon the coast; most adroit in the management of canoes and boats; are marked by a peculiar enlargement of the ankle joint, produced by

their mode of sitting in their canoes; are less vain, politic, agreeable, and perhaps less trusty, than the Kroomen, (indeed, charges of treachery and cruelty are with reason urged against them;) and, while they inhabit towns separated by considerable intervals along the beach from Grand Bassa to Cape Palmas, they probably embrace a population of twenty thousand.

The Kroo people proper—that is, those who inhabit Settra Kroo and four other towns in its vicinity—spring from a union of several tribes, who came some two hundred and fifty years ago from about three hundred miles in the interior, under one and the same government. They early formed a compact with the Portuguese slave traders, whom they were accustomed to assist, by which the adoption on their part of the peculiar Kroo mark was to be deemed a sign of exemption from slavery; and their name, *Kroomen*, is supposed to be but a corruption of the word *crewmen*, so very naturally and appropriately applied to them for their services to vessels on the coast. Polygamy and slavery prevail among them, though they never enslave each other, nor sell slaves but to persons of their own tribe. Their houses are built square, and of sticks, covered with platted bamboo, the floor being of the same material, raised eighteen inches on sticks; and the door and the loft above are not sufficiently high to permit an adult to enter standing. In most of the houses are three rooms, separated by partitions of the same material as the sides and floor. The fireplace is made of hard clay, near one corner of the house, where is the only window, which serves both to admit light and open a passage for the smoke. The smoke penetrates the interstices of the loft above, and thus preserves the rice from insects. Their furniture consists of a few cooking utensils. Their floor serves for bed, table, and chairs; and their pillow is a round stick of wood. Their dress is a piece of cloth wrapped about the loins. They superstitiously reverence the new moon, and her monthly appearance the headmen celebrate by a feast; while they frequent, for meditation and worship, retired groves or thickets, dedicated to an evil spirit, thought to control mainly the affairs of the world. Like many, if not most, of the tribes of western Africa, they ascribe sickness and death to witchcraft, and rely upon their doctors to designate the person who has perpetrated the crime. The accused is seized by a public officer, and compelled to drink a decoction of sassywood, (a powerful narcotic poison,) which, if rejected by his stomach, proves his innocence, if not, his guilt, and consigns him to a speedy and cruel death. This ordeal of sassywood is one of the most prevalent and distinctive of African superstitions, and by it thousands perish, miserably, every year.

The government of the Kroo people is believed to have been originally patriarchal, but is now a self-perpetuating oligarchy. The king receives his office hereditarily; and the headmen, some twelve or fifteen in number, marked or distinguished by an iron ring around the leg, constitute the legislative council of the nation. Their laws are a body of customs, handed down by tradition, interpreted and enforced by the general council, who also enact special laws for any emergency, suggested, it is thought, in most cases, by the doctor or conjurer.

These laws are frequently defective, inconsistent, and unjust. Most of the labor on their plantations and in their villages is performed by the women. Aged men of influence, in different families, act as guardians for the younger, who, even until they reach the age of thirty or forty years, go abroad in groups of ten or a dozen (each company electing a



leader, whom they cheerfully obey) to different parts of the coast, from Sierra Leone to Fernando Po, labor industriously from six months to three years, and on their return home place the proceeds of their labor at the disposal of their guardian, to be expended in the purchase of wives for themselves, and for the benefit of their respective families. The Kroomen are, in their persons, a straight, well-developed, and finely-proportioned race of men; they are intelligent and independent, vain and sensual, ambitious of reputation, capable of ardent attachment, and, where their interests are deeply concerned, of extraordinary fidelity. Their number at home and abroad is probably from six to ten thousand. The people of *Nifou* are still further south, in population less than either the Fishmen or Kroomen, but very similar in their occupations, customs, and superstitions.

With other tribes, more remote and interior, treaties have been formed; but those just specified constitute the most important native population residing within the jurisdiction of the republic. To these African tribes the relations of the Liberian government are entirely peaceful and friendly, and its authority over them highly salutary and beneficent. It has banished the slave trade from all this district of Africa; adjusted the differences which separated, and suppressed the wars which have for centuries spread misery and devastation among, these people; has interrupted, if not eradicated, some of their most barbarous superstitions, ministered new incentives to their industry, opened new channels and supplied new motives and rewards to trade, and invited them to listen to the teachings and become enriched with all the blessings of civilization and Christianity. In a recent trial for a capital offence in the county of Grand Bassa, three native Africans sat among the jury; nor is it unusual to meet with respectable individuals of this class holding commissions as public officers of justice or police from the president of the republic.

The Maryland Colony, at Cape Palmas, exerts, perhaps, a less positive and controlling authority over its large native population than is exerted by the government of the republic: yet the influence of its intelligent and respectable officers is highly beneficial, and must increase; while the missionary establishment within its limits excites our admiration, and deserves the most liberal support.

Two papers which I have the honor to submit with this report—one from the Rev. Mr. Payne, superintendent of the Episcopal Mission at Cavalla, (within the limits of the Maryland colony,) on the customs, government, and superstitions of the Greybo people, (in population about 25,000;) and another, on the Kroo people, from the Rev. Mr. Connelly and lady, who have resided for several years at *Settra Kroo*—will be interesting to those who desire the advancement of civilization and Christianity in Africa.\*

In regard to the third subject of inquiry specified in my instructions—"the form of the government and the characters of the leading men in the executive, legislative, and judicial departments"—allow me to point to the constitution of the republic of Liberia, herewith submitted, fully pervaded by the spirit of liberty, and in all vital particulars conformed to the model of our own American free government.† No provision is contained in this constitution for the existence of separate State governments, nor do its

\*See Rev. Mr. Payne's statement—appendix, F.

†See Constitution, immediately following this report.

framers appear to have contemplated or desired their existence: but in the provision for the election of the president and representatives every two years; in the subordination of the military to the civil power; in the declarations of the right of trial by jury, of universal toleration in matters of religion, and of the freedom of the press; and in the prohibition of the slave trade and slavery,—have the people shown the purpose and ability to rear for the protection of their liberties a wisely-limited and justly-constructed republican government. 'The fifteenth section of the miscellaneous provisions of this constitution embodies a purpose so worthy of a Christian people, so auspicious towards the uncivilized children of Africa, that I am most happy to copy it entire in this report:

"SECTION 15. 'The improvement of the native tribes, and their advancement in the arts of agriculture and husbandry, being a cherished object of this government, it shall be the duty of the president to appoint in each county some discreet person, whose duty it shall be to make regular and periodical tours through the country for the purpose of calling the attention of the natives to these wholesome branches of industry, and of instructing them in the same; and the legislature shall, as soon as can conveniently be done, make provision for these purposes by the appropriation of money."

From personal observation, I may speak with confidence of the mighty effects wrought upon the intellect, hopes, and purposes of the authorities and people of Liberia by the freedom which has ever been theirs upon that shore, and by the high position which they have now taken of national independence. Some of the most distinguished men in the republic are among those who went thither in childhood, have received their entire education in its schools, and bear in their manners, their whole deportment, and upon their very aspect, the signs of a just self respect, of subdued passions, of virtuous resolution, and of a mature and well-disciplined judgment.

The president of the republic is a gentleman of distinguished talents and courage, of unaffected, plain, but polished manners, truly exemplary in all the relations of life, and dedicated in all his thoughts and energies to the great interests of the commonwealth over which, by a wise public discernment, he has been chosen to preside. The vice president, the heads of the several departments of the government, the chief justice of the supreme court, and others invested with offices of public responsibility, appeared to be intelligent and judicious men, very intent upon a faithful discharge of the duties of their respective stations, and ardently devoted to the constitution and improvement of their country. Few state papers will be found to surpass, in dignity of thought and language, the inaugural address or the several messages of President Roberts; nor will these and other productions of decided merit from the pens of citizens of Liberia permit us to doubt the ability of the people of that republic to conduct successfully the great affairs of government.

On this subject, as of greater force than any mere statement or argument, I have the honor to invite attention to a few extracts from the recent official papers of President Roberts, and from published discourses of other citizens of Liberia. President Roberts concludes with the following sentences his inaugural address:

"The time has been, I admit, when men, without being chargeable with timidity, or with a disposition to undervalue the capacities of the

African race, might have doubted the success of the colonization enterprise, and the feasibility of establishing an independent Christian State on this coast, composed of, and conducted wholly by, colored men; but, fellow-citizens, that time has past. The American Colonization Society has redeemed its pledge; and I believe in my soul that the permanency of the government of the republic of Liberia is now fixed upon as firm a basis as human wisdom is capable of devising. Nor is there any reason to apprehend that the Divine Disposer of human events, after having separated us from the house of bondage, and led us safely through so many dangers towards the land of liberty and promise, will leave the work of our political redemption and consequent happiness unfinished, and either permit us to perish in a wilderness of difficulties, or suffer us to be carried back in chains to that country of prejudices from whose oppression he has mercifully delivered us with his outstretched arm.

“And, fellow-citizens, it must afford the most heartfelt pleasure and satisfaction to every friend of Liberia, and real lover of liberty in general, to observe by what a fortunate train of circumstances and incidents the people of these colonies have arrived at absolute freedom and independence. When we look abroad and see by what slow and painful steps, marked with blood and ills of every kind, other States of the world have advanced to liberty and independence, we cannot but admire and praise that all-gracious Providence, who, by his unerring ways, has, with so few sufferings on our part, compared with other States, led us to this happy stage in our progress towards those great and important objects. And that it is the will of Heaven that mankind should be free, is clearly evidenced by the wealth, vigor, virtue, and consequent happiness of all free States. But the idea that Providence will establish such governments as he shall deem most fit for his creatures, and will give them wealth, influence, and happiness, without their efforts, is palpably absurd. In short, God’s moral government of the earth is always performed by the intervention of second causes. Therefore, fellow-citizens, while with pious gratitude we survey the frequent interpositions of Heaven in our behalf, we ought to remember that, as the disbelief of an overruling Providence is atheism, so an absolute confidence of having our government relieved from every embarrassment, and its citizens made respectable and happy, by the immediate hand of God, without our own exertions, is the most culpable presumption. Nor have we any reason to expect that he will miraculously make Liberia a paradise, and deliver us, in a moment of time, from all the ills and inconveniences consequent upon the peculiar circumstances under which we are placed, merely to convince us that he favors our cause and government.

“Sufficient notifications of his will are always given; and those who will not then believe, neither would they believe though one should rise from the dead to inform them. Who can trace the progress of these colonies, and mark the incidents of the wars in which they have been engaged, without seeing evident tokens of Providential favor? Let us, therefore, inflexibly persevere in exerting our most strenuous efforts, in an humble and rational dependence on the great Governor of all the world, and we have the fairest prospects of surmounting all the difficulties which may be thrown in our way. And that we may expect, and that we shall have, difficulties—sore difficulties—yet to contend against, in our progress to maturity, is certain. And, as the political happiness or wretchedness of ourselves and our children, and of generations yet unborn, is in our

hands—nay, more, the redemption of Africa from the deep degradation, superstition, and idolatry in which she has so long been involved—it becomes us to lay our shoulders to the wheel, and manfully resist every obstacle which may oppose our progress in the great work which lies before us.

“The gospel, fellow-citizens, is yet to be preached to vast numbers inhabiting this dark continent; and I have the highest reason to believe that it was one of the great objects of the Almighty in establishing these colonies that they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations of this country. And to what work more noble could our powers be applied than that of bringing up from darkness, debasement, and misery our fellow-men, and shedding abroad over them the light of science and Christianity? The means of doing so, fellow-citizens, are in our reach; and if we neglect or do not make use of them, what excuse shall we make to our Creator and final Judge? This is a question of the deepest concern to us all, and which, in my opinion, will materially affect our happiness in the world to come. And surely, if it ever has been incumbent on the people of Liberia to know truth, and to follow it, it is now. Rouse, therefore, fellow-citizens, and do your duty like men, and be persuaded that Divine Providence, heretofore, will continue to bless all your virtuous efforts. But if there be any among us dead to all sense of honor and love of their country; if deaf to all the calls of liberty, virtue, and religion; if forgetful of the benevolence and magnanimity of those who have procured this asylum for them, and the future happiness of their children; if neither the examples nor the success of other nations, the dictates of reason and of nature, or the great duties they owe to their God, themselves, and their posterity, have an effect upon them; if neither the injuries they received in the land whence they came, the prize they are contending for, the future blessings or curses of their children, the applause or reproach of all mankind, the approbation or displeasure of the great Judge, or the happiness or misery consequent upon their conduct in this and in a future state, can move them,—then let them be assured that they deserve to be slaves, and are entitled to nothing but anguish and tribulation; let them banish forever from their minds the hope of ever obtaining that freedom, reputation, and happiness which, as men, they are entitled to; let them forget every duty, human and divine, remember not that they have children, and beware how they call to mind the justice of the Supreme Being; let them return into slavery, and hug their chains, and be a reproach and a by-word among all nations.

“But I am persuaded, fellow-citizens, that we have none such among us; that every citizen will do his duty, and exert himself to the utmost of his abilities to sustain the honor of his country, promote her interests and the interests of his fellow-citizens, and to hand down unimpaired to future generations the freedom and independence we this day enjoy.

“As to myself, fellow-citizens, I assure you I have never been indifferent to what concerns the interest of Liberia, my adopted country; and I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me, knowingly, from the path of duty or of justice. The weakness of human nature, and the limits of my own understanding, may, no doubt will, produce errors of judgment. I repeat, therefore, I shall need all the indulgence I have hitherto received at your hands. I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are; who has led us, as Israel of old, from our native

land, and planted us in a country abounding in all the necessities and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his providence, and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplications that he will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they do shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations."

The following passages are selected from the first message (after the adoption of the present constitution of the republic) of the same gentleman to the national legislature:

"Our situation, however, for forming a political society, and erecting a free government, is more favorable, in many respects, than that of any people who have preceded us. We have the history and experience of all States before us: mankind have been toiling through all ages for our information, and the philosophers and learned men of antiquity have trimmed their midnight lamps to transmit to us instructions. We live, also, in an age when the principles of political liberty and the foundation of government have been fully canvassed and fairly settled.

"With these lights before them, our delegates have given us a constitution founded, not upon party or prejudice, not for to-day or to-morrow, but for posterity. It is founded in good policy, because, in my humble opinion, it is founded in justice and honesty. All ambitions and interested views seem to have been entirely discarded, and regard had only to the good of the whole, in which the situation and rights of posterity are considered, and equal justice has been done to every citizen of the republic. And the highest respect has been paid to those great and equal rights of human nature which should forever remain inviolate in every society. Proper attention has also been given to the separation of the three great powers of the State. Indeed, it is essential to liberty that the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of the government be, as nearly as possible, independent of, and separate from, each other; for, were they united in the same persons, there would be wanting that mutual check which is the principal security against the making of arbitrary laws and a wanton exercise of power in the execution of them. If these three powers are united, the government will be absolute, whether they are in the hands of a few or a great number. The same party will be the legislator, accuser, judge, and executioner. What probability, then, as I have heard it remarked, will an accused person have of an acquittal, however innocent he may be, when his judge is also a party?"

Having shown the wisdom of the convention who adopted the constitution of the republic in their careful provisions to keep distinct and independent of each other the three great departments of the government, President Roberts adds:

"But, gentlemen, it is to be remembered that, whatever marks of wisdom, experience, and patriotism there may be in our new constitution, like the just proportions and elegant forms of our first parents, before their Maker breathed into them the breath of life, it is yet to be animated, and, until then, may indeed excite admiration, but it will be of no use; from the people it must receive its spirit, and by them be quickened. Let virtue, honor, the love of liberty, and science, be and remain the soul of our present constitution, and it must, it will, become the source of great and extensive happiness to this and future generations. Vice, ignorance,

and the want of vigilance, will be the only enemies able to destroy it. Against this provide.

"Every citizen of Liberia ought diligently to read and study the constitution of his country, and teach the rising generations to be free. By knowing their rights, they will sooner perceive when they are violated, and be the better prepared to defend and assert them."

The final words of this message are most pertinent, just, and impressive—earnestly expressive of devout gratitude to the Almighty, and of confidence in the guardian care of his ever-watchful and omnipotent providence:

"The present crisis, gentlemen, imposes an obligation on all the departments of government to adopt an explicit and decided course; and, as it is our indispensable duty, may it be our invariable aim, to exhibit to our constituents the brightest examples of disinterested love for the common weal, and particularly to be inflexible in our resolutions to know neither friend nor favorite, whenever his solicitations appear incompatible with the public good. In our public capacities we ought to rise superior to all private attachment or resentment, and make the intrinsic merit of every candidate for an office our sole rule for his promotion. Let us, both by precept and practice, encourage a spirit of economy, industry, and patriotism, and that public integrity and righteousness which cannot fail to exalt a nation. May the foundation of our State be laid in virtue and the fear of God, and the superstructure will rise gloriously, and endure for ages. Then may we humbly expect the blessings of 'the Most High, who divides to the nations their inheritance, and separates the sons of Adam.' In fine, gentlemen, let us unitedly strive to approve ourselves master-builders, by giving beauty, strength, and stability to our new government.

"On my part, a most solemn oath has been taken for the faithful discharge of my duty; on yours, a solemn assurance has been given to support me therein. Thus, a public compact between us stands recorded. And you may rest assured, gentlemen, that I shall keep this oath ever in mind. The constitution shall be the invariable rule of my conduct; my ears shall be always opened to the complaints of the injured; justice, in mercy, shall neither be denied nor delayed; our laws, and the liberties of Liberia, shall be maintained and defended to the utmost of my power. I repose the most perfect confidence in your engagement; and, on my part, you may count on a cordial concurrence in every measure for the public good, and on all the information I possess which may enable you to discharge to advantage the high functions with which you are invested by your fellow-citizens. But above all, gentlemen, we have great reasons to rejoice, in view of the confidence we are encouraged to feel in the guardianship and guidance of that Almighty Being whose power regulates the destiny of nations, and whose blessings have been conspicuously dispensed to this infant republic, and to whom we are bound to address our devout gratitude for the past, as well as our fervent supplications and best hopes for the future."

The Rev. Hilary Teage, editor of the *Liberia Herald*, expressed his thoughts on the adoption of the constitution in the following language:

"That man amongst us who does not feel that by this act he has entered upon a new career, has assumed new responsibilities, and has received a new impetus and a new motive to action, is to be pitied for his

blindness, rather than envied for his indifference; and, to say the least, he is not yet prepared for extensive usefulness.

“We would warn our people against the infatuation of supposing that, because we have declared ourselves sovereign and independent, therefore we have fulfilled our destiny, and attained the summit of political perfection; and we would also warn them against despondency, in view of any difficulties we may be called to encounter. Our condition affords no scope for idle enthusiasm, nor for unmanly timidity. All great undertakings are attended with difficulties, and usually demand an effort proportioned to their magnitude. It is of the last importance for us to know where, and by whom, this effort is to be made. We need, and if we are wise we will seek, the sympathy and friendly countenance of foreign nations. It will be encouraging to be recognised as forming one in the great community of nations, and to receive the usual comities of that relation; still, we must learn to call off all unreasonable expectation from every foreign quarter, and be penetrated with the conviction that the proper scene of this extraordinary effort is the republic of Liberia, and the effort itself to be made by us.”

Mr. Teage, in a discourse delivered in Monrovia, thus expresses his views on education:

“The education of our youth is the next subject to which I would direct your attention. ‘Knowledge is power’ is an old proverb, but not the less true because it is old. This is the spring that regulates the movements of society; this is at once the lever and safety-valve of human institutions. Without it, society will either not move at all, or, like an unbalanced, unhelmed ship, move in a direction and at a rate that must eventually destroy it. Education corrects vice, cures disorders, abates jealousies, adorns virtue, commands the winds, triumphs over the waves, scales the heavens. In a word, education lays all nature under tribute, and forces her to administer to the comfort and happiness of man. Nor is this all that education does. It ennobles and elevates the mind, and urges the soul upward, and animates it to deeds of high and lasting renown. Education opens sources of pure, refined, and exquisite enjoyment; it unlocks the temple of nature, and admits the awe-stricken soul to behold and admire the wondrous works of God. An ignorant, vicious, idle community has the elements of destruction already in its bosom. On the very first application of a torch, they will explode and lay the whole fabric in ruins. A virtuous, orderly, educated people have all the elements of national greatness and national perpetuity. Would we be happy at home and respected abroad, we must educate our youth.”

Of this oration by Mr. Teage the following is the concluding passage:

“The last remark time will allow me to make, under this head, is, that ‘righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.’ All attempts to correct the depravity of man, to stay the headlong propensity to vice, to abate the madness of ambition, will be found deplorably inefficient, unless we apply the restrictions and the tremendous sanctions of religion. A profound regard and deference for religion; a constant recognition of our dependence upon God, and of our obligation and accountability to him; an ever-present, ever-pressing sense of his universal and all-controlling providence,—this, and only this, can give energy to the arm of law, cool the raging fever of the passions, and abate the lofty pretensions of mad ambition. In prosperity, let us bring out our thank-offer-

ing, and present it with cheerful hearts, in orderly, virtuous, and religious conduct. In adversity, let us consider, confess our sins, and abase ourselves before the throne of God. In danger, let us go to him whose prerogative it is to deliver; let us go to him with the humility and confidence which a deep conviction that the battle is not to the strong, and the race to the swift, is calculated to inspire.

"Fellow-citizens! we stand now on ground never occupied by a people before. However insignificant we may regard ourselves, the eyes of Europe and America are upon us, as a germ destined to burst from its enclosure in the earth, unfold its petals to the genial air, rise to the height and swell to the dimensions of the full-grown tree, or (inglorious fate!) to shrivel, to die, and be buried in oblivion. Rise, fellow-citizens!—rise to a clear and full perception of your tremendous responsibilities. Upon you, rely upon it, depends, in a measure you can hardly conceive, the future destiny of your race. You are to give the answer, whether the African race is doomed to interminable degradation—a hideous blot on the fair face of creation, a libel upon the dignity of human nature—or incapable to take an honorable rank amongst the great family of nations. The friends of the colony are trembling, the enemies of the colored man are hoping. Say, fellow-citizens, will you palsy the hands of your friends, and sicken their hearts, and gladden the souls of your enemies, by a base refusal to enter upon the career of glory which is now opening so propitiously before you? The genius of Universal Emancipation, hending from her lofty seat, invites you to accept the wreath of national independence. The voice of your friends, swelling upon the breeze, cries to you from afar: Raise your standard! assert your independence!! throw out your banners to the wind!! And will the descendants of the mighty Pharaohs, that awed the world—will the sons of him who drove back the serried legions of Rome, and laid siege to the "Eternal City"—will they, the achievements of whose fathers are yet the wonder and admiration of the world—will they refuse the proffered boon, and basely cling to the chains of slavery and dependence? Never! never!! never!!! Shades of the mighty dead, spirits of departed great ones, inspire us, animate us to the task, nerve us for the battle! Pour into our bosom a portion of that ardor and patriotism which bore you on to battle, to victory, and to conquest.

"Shall Liberia live? Yes; in the generous emotions now swelling in your bosoms—in the high and noble purpose now fixing itself in your mind, and ripening into the unyieldingness of an indomitable principle—we hear the inspiring response, Liberia shall live before God, and before the nations of the earth."

On the 24th of August, 1847, the independence of the republic was celebrated, in the Methodist Episcopal church, in Monrovia; and from the oration of the Rev. J. S. Payne on that occasion we offer the following just and patriotic sentiments:

"Call upon the spirit of the American patriots, and let similar feelings possess your bosoms, and break forth into manly exertion, and yours will be the honor of having founded and reared up a republican government for the oppressed of our race. The vastness of the undertaking makes it too much for any portion less than the whole community to sustain and conduct it prosperously; therefore it is highly important that we be *united*. Great evils have been entailed upon nations—mighty kingdoms and empires have fallen to rise no more—by discord, which ulti-



mately genders into anarchy and bloodshed and destruction. The sagacious politician, having an eye upon what is the dreadful consequences of the want of union, was enabled to predict, as if he caught the true spirit of prophecy, 'United we stand, divided we fall.' This principle may well be denominated the national pulse, the regular beatings of which are indispensably necessary to the vitality of a nation. 'If a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand;' and, as sure as these words are true, so will the destruction of this republic be, if union be not maintained among us. Be united, Liberians; understand one another; know your common object; let all animosities fall this day at the foot of your staff; and declare henceforward we be brethren, aiming at the common good. These are not the only premises from which we would infer the future prosperity or indestructibility of this republic; for the history of nations teaches us there are other indispensable virtues, from among which we will extract only two more.

"One is *industry*—the origin of all physical, mental, and political advancement—the foundation of all national grandeur—forgetfulness of which is an impassable barrier to all personal or national prosperity and happiness. It is utterly inconsistent with the course of Providence to expect these without the employment of the means ordained for their production, and accordingly attended to by all thriving nations. I need not remind you of the importance of agriculture to a nation's prosperity: you have only to cast your eye whence you came, and contemplate the riches extracted by the industrious from a soil in few respects better than yours. With a country capacious and fertile, abounding with products much demanded by some nations, what can hinder you from becoming prosperous and happy, but idleness, the bane of society, and fruitful cause of many evils? Mental improvement is also absolutely necessary. 'Knowledge is power' is an axiom worthy of attention. The enlightened of all ages have paid becoming attention to it; and, even to this day, we behold them offering their petitions and adorations at the shrine of Wisdom, acknowledging their indebtedness to her for all that is good and virtuous in the transactions of the affairs of life. While all nations thus show their estimate of knowledge, shall we be dormant? Shall we enter the political world without the qualifications necessary to maintain our national existence? Shall we, if we ever gain a footing in that world, remain where we *are*, when all nations are moving forward in this respect? Was ever there a time in the history of Liberia when men of intellectual stamp were more needed? It requires no small portion of knowledge to conduct the affairs of a people. Here, then, is room for improvement, and for the exercise of laudable ambition; here is an adequate stimulus to apply to ourselves and our children.

"In reflecting upon our present condition, and the new career just entered upon, it would not be improper to inquire by whose aid and protection we have been sustained and delivered from the imminent dangers that have at different times gathered around and threatened us with destruction. We feel it just to acknowledge that it is not owing to any skill or might in us that we have succeeded, notwithstanding these oppositions, but to the protection and aid of that Being who rules the nations, and holds the destiny of each in his hand. And if, when we look back, we are led to exclaim 'What hath God wrought!' we see every reason that induced us

to trust in him occupying the same place, and teaching us it is our duty to do so in *future*.

"I can do nothing better, in concluding this address, than to direct your attention to the propriety of depending upon the omnipotent arm of the Almighty. Remember that he hath said, (and what he says is true,) 'Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.' A tenacious adherence to the principles of the Christian religion, obedience to its precepts, encouragement of its institutions and ordinances among ourselves and children, will, with the other indispensables mentioned above, insure stability and prosperity to this republic; while its happy influences will ooze out, to water and make glad the moral Sahara around us. But, fellow-citizens, the reverse of these things, and an indulgence in national sins, will not only disgrace us in the estimation of the good and virtuous of the world, but bring down upon us the judgments of the God of holiness. We have only to inquire of you, Liberians, Shall this republic be prosperous, and advance in national importance? Doubtless it is destined to do so; but may we not retard and make it a reproach to the world? Nought should inspire us with a greater resolution to advance this arduous but glorious work than the consideration of the rising and future generations. - Shall they be cast out and oppressed in future, when we have it in our power to hand down to them a government well founded, and built upon sanctified principles? Shall they have cause to lament that their fathers were so base and inconsiderate, having had it in their power to bequeath them inestimable blessings, yet, through supineness and degrading carelessness, failed to do so? Eternal and merited infamy will be attached to our names. Again: will you not endeavor to wipe away the opprobrium from the colored race, and prove to the world that it is equally susceptible with any other of mental culture and good government? If Liberia have enemies—if prejudice would prompt to laughter at the non-success of this republic—how would the joy of such be augmented to hear of a failure in this undertaking? O Liberians! think of these considerations; and let the thought inspire your hearts with a holy and indomitable resolution to advance your cause, that the republic may be safe and respected by the world—that the light of that lone star may illuminate this benighted land; and, as you fade away from among the living, yours will be the great satisfaction of seeing your descendants established and happily situated in a government founded and reared with great exertion, and rendered permanent by the strict observance of the principles of good government by you, their parents, whose memories will be encircled in their estimation with a halo of never-fading glory."

In an oration delivered on the 26th of July last, in commemoration of the independence of the republic, by *R. L. Stryker, esq.*, is the following passage:

"My fellow-citizens, you have laid the foundation of a great republic, destined to civilize and Christianize the remote and barbarous tribes of Africa. Twenty-five years have you been laying this foundation, which, in the ever-memorable year of 1847, completed the first epoch in your national history. To Charity you owe an immense debt of gratitude: she has called to her aid, in the cause of 'African colonization,' the wisest and best men of the age. And it is remarkable to know that the demands of Charity have been responded to by far the largest number of

men of distinction that she ever before has been able to bring to bear in any one matter—missionary societies excepted, and other means for the promulgation of the gospel. Here commences a train of unparalleled concurrences—noble in their objects, and happy in their results: here commences the moral and physical renovation of Africa. Her sons return from bondage, not to mourn over the desolation around, but, like the Jews, to ‘rebuild the waste places, and rear the temple to the living God. In the physical renovation, we see the dense forest disappearing before the tide of civilization, the beauties of nature springing up beneath the hand of the cultivator, and the works of art vying with many stupendous works of nature. In the moral renovation, we behold man standing erect in the image of his Maker, unknown to any bondage except that of his Creator, and holding converse with the Revealed Pages which contain the ultimate destiny of ‘God’s works.’ Here, as you advance, will commence the mighty contest of the Redeemer’s religion with the pagan and Mahometan doctrine—or, I should say, the Devil’s kingdom on earth—which must end in the rule of God’s might.

“Civilization must here take a peculiar feature from what it has taken among any people in modern times. It will, instead of exterminating the barbarous heathen, bring him into the customs and usages of civilized society; it will teach him arts and sciences: and who will predict but that he it is, with liberty stamped upon his brow, that shall restore to the world again the long-lost arts and sciences, and call, in tones of thunder, to drowsy Africa, until, in the language of one, she ‘shall be redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled?’”

Is it to be believed that men capable of thoughts so just, of sentiments so patriotic, of hopes and purposes so elevated, humane, and far-reaching in beneficence, who have already established one of the least defective and most perfect of free governments, will fail to sustain the fabric they have reared, to obey their own laws, and to win, by their fidelity to truth, liberty, and religion, the approbation of the Christian world?

On the fourth topic of inquiry—“the public revenue and the means by which it is raised”—I observe that, for the two years previous to the independence of the republic, the annual revenue of the government, derived mainly from a six-per-cent. ad valorem duty on imports, amounted to from eight to ten thousand dollars. With a view to augment the public revenue, the legislature, after the adoption of the present constitution, authorized and instructed the secretary of the treasury to import leaf tobacco, powder, salt, muskets and other fire-arms, with earthen and crockery ware, (articles in great demand for the African trade,) and to dispose of these articles at a certain specified advance on the first cost. But it is said this monopoly by the government has not met the public expectation, and that it will be greatly modified, if not wholly abandoned. On all goods imported into the republic is imposed a duty of six per cent., with certain exceptions specified, wherein the duty is still higher. The note below exhibits some of the revenue provisions of the republic.\* The President, without stating the exact amount of the present revenue, expressed the opinion that it would hereafter meet the expenses of the government, though it must, for some years, fall far short of what might be desirably expended for many objects of great public utility.

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\* See appendix A.

In regard "to the military and naval force of the republic," to the honor of the people of Liberia should it be recorded, that, from their earliest settlement upon the African coast, they have, by courage and discipline, defended themselves against the machinations of slave traders, and the combined forces of many barbarous tribes, and in no instance suffered defeat. With the exception of such as are exempted in virtue of religious or civil offices, all the males in the republic, from the age of sixteen to fifty, are subject to military duty; may be called at any moment by the executive into actual service; and, in time of peace, muster, on stated days, and in obedience to a uniform law, in the several settlements, for examination, exercise, and discipline. This force, well armed and disciplined, may be, in number, from one thousand to fifteen hundred men; while a much larger native force might doubtless be brought into more or less effectual service, in case of an invasion. Of naval force the republic has nothing, with the exception of one small but beautiful vessel, armed with four guns, a present from the British government. Since foreign vessels are, without exception, subject to certain commercial regulations, and duties imposed on all merchandise brought within the republic, wherever landed, and whether consigned to the American settlers or native Africans, this vessel will prove of great utility in guarding from violation the revenue laws, and in enforcing their provisions. This vessel also affords an easy and rapid conveyance of any orders or officers of the government to different points of the coast, will enable the public authorities to observe any movements for the renewal of the slave trade, and to adopt measures to counteract them, and communicate intelligence between the settlements in any dangerous emergency.

"Of the administration of justice, the system of laws upon which it is based, and, most especially, whether it is entirely impartial towards the inhabitants of the republic." I am gratified to express the opinion that the judicial system of the republic is wisely constituted, and that justice is administered to all classes impartially, and without unnecessary expense or delay. By the constitution, the judicial power of the republic is vested in one supreme court, and such other subordinate courts as the legislature may from time to time establish. The supreme court has original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors or other public ministers or consuls, and those to which the republic shall be a party. All judges of courts are to hold office during good behaviour, but may be removed by the president, at the request of two-thirds of both houses of the legislature, or when impeached and convicted. By authority of the legislature, qualified justices of the peace may arrest offenders against the laws or public peace, commit them to prison, or take security for their appearance for trial, and may determine actions for debt, where the amount in question does not exceed thirty dollars, though the parties have the right of appeal to the ensuing monthly court. In each of the counties of the republic is held a monthly court, composed of not more than five nor less than three justices of the peace, which court is to examine and decide on all cases of commitment by justices, and has power to summon jurors, to determine actions for debt above thirty dollars, and exercises original jurisdiction in all cases not intrusted to justices of the peace, causes in admiralty, and those constitutionally vested in the supreme court. To this court also belong the care and management of the estates of orphans, and the record and probate of wills.

By the same authority is constituted in each county of the republic a court of quarter sessions, with one judge, which court has power to empanel both a grand and petit jury, and to try prisoners sent from the monthly court, and all presentments or indictments found by the grand jury; has original jurisdiction in cases of admiralty, and appellate jurisdiction in cases coming from the monthly court. Appeal may be taken from the decisions of this court to the supreme court.

The supreme court is required to sit annually, and until all causes submitted to its jurisdiction are disposed of, in the town of Monrovia, and consists of the chief justice and three associates, the judges of the court of quarter sessions—two only of these associates sitting at one time, the right of absence being exercised in regular rotation. Provision is made to exempt judges in this court and that of quarter sessions from official duty in cases wherein they are interested; and the decisions of the supreme court are final.

Some few directions and principles of civil government and jurisprudence were supplied to the first settlers in Liberia by the American Colonization Society. In 1824, a brief but comprehensive constitution was submitted to them, and received their assent. Subsequently, the lamented Ashmun guided and instructed them in public affairs. In 1839, a constitution and clear but concise body of laws were transmitted to the governor and council of the then colony, to which they gave their sanction. So that the present laws of the republic are to be traced to the past history of the people, are the growth from their peculiar circumstances, and embrace the acts of the legislature before and since the declaration of their independence; while, in their courts, the common law, with few modifications, as existing in Great Britain and the United States, constitutes the ground of judicial arguments and decisions.

A copy of the laws, for which I am indebted to President Roberts, accompanies this report; and among all the acts of the Liberian republic, none merit more earnest and entire commendation than those for the suppression of the slave trade, by which, even from their first days upon that shore, her people have demonstrated their purpose to continue unstained and uncontaminated by that reproach—to wage an unmitigated and eternal war upon the arts, contrivances, agencies, conductors, and abettors of this most cruel and detestable commerce.\*

“The relations of Liberia to other governments, and to the contiguous African nations or tribes,” are amicable, and becoming every year more advantageous.

The independence of the republic has been acknowledged by both England and France; and between the former and the republic a treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce was ratified on the 1st of August last: and hardly a week passes during which armed ships from these or other civilized nations are not seen visiting the ports, and exchanging civilities with the hospitable inhabitants, of Liberia. By treaties with many African tribes, the republic has not merely enlarged its territory, but secured their consent to the abolition of the slave trade, and to the exercise of its political and judicial authority over them; and to its wisdom and justice are these tribes accustomed to look for the adjustment of their differences, and the protection of their homes, liberty, property, and lives. In some instances, tribes from the interior have hastened for safety, before the fury of

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\* See appendix B.

merciless foes, to the soil of the republic, and found peace and repose under the shadow of its wings. Even since the first American free people of color arrived in Africa, the district of country that now bears the name of Liberia has been a scene of treachery, rapine, and wide-wasting wars: suddenly have towns and villages been made desolate—not a solitary woman or child escaping to tell the story of the midnight invasion and massacre: so that it would be difficult to exaggerate in our estimate of the benefits derived at present, in security from outrage, in the protection of property, industry, and life, by the native Africans, from the government of the republic. The suppression within the limits of the republic of the ordeal by sassywood has preserved probably thousands from a most cruel death, and shown a signal triumph of civilized law over superstition.

“Of the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the republic, and in particular its trade with the United States, and the susceptibility of that trade to be beneficially increased,” it may be confidently asserted that the soil of the republic is capable of yielding abundantly the most valuable productions of the tropics. In some preliminary observations to an agricultural manual, prepared in 1825, for the Liberian settlers, by Mr. Ashmun, that gentleman writes to them thus: “Suffer me to put down two or three remarks, of the truth and importance of which you cannot be too sensible. The first is, that the cultivation of your rich lands is the only way you will ever find to independence, comfort, and wealth. You may, if you please, if God gives you health, become as independent, comfortable, and happy as you ought to be in this world.

“The flat lands around you, and particularly your farms, have as good a soil as can be met with in any country. They will produce two crops of corn, sweet potatoes, and several other vegetables, in a year; they will yield a larger crop than the best soils in America; and they will produce a number of very valuable articles, for which, in the United States, millions of money are every year paid away to foreigners. One acre of rich land well tilled will produce you three hundred dollars’ worth of indigo. Half an acre may be made to grow half a ton of arrowroot. Four acres laid out in coffee plants will, after the third year, produce you a clear income of two or three hundred dollars. Half an acre of cotton trees will clothe your whole family; and, except a little hoeing, your wife and children can perform the whole labor of cropping and manufacturing it. One acre of canes will make you independent of all the world for the sugar you use in your family. One acre set with fruit trees will furnish you the year round with more plantains, bananas, oranges, limes, guavas, paw-paws, and pine-apples than you will ever gather. Nine months in the year you may grow fresh vegetables every month; and some of you, who have low-land plantations, may do so throughout the year.”

My observations on the banks of the rivers of the republic, (especially the St. Paul’s, the St. John’s, and the Simon,) along both sides of Stockton creek, and among the gardens of Monrovia and the plantations in its vicinity, confirmed my belief in the general correctness of this statement, though the agricultural improvements do not equal all the expectations which it would naturally create. The committee of Montserado county fail, however, I think, to do full justice to themselves and their fellow-citizens when they say: “In agriculture, little more is done than to supply ourselves with the necessaries and a few of the conveniences of life.” Considering how limited have been the pecuniary means of the emigrants to Liberia, and the difficulties always inevitable to the settlers in a coun-

try to the climate of which they are strangers, and with the products of which they have to make themselves acquainted, I am rather surprised that they have done so much in agriculture than that they have done no more. Substantial farm-houses, surrounded by well-cleared and cultivated plantations of from ten to thirty and fifty or seventy acres, adorn, on both sides, the banks of the St. Paul's (with occasional interruptions) for the distance of twenty miles. Several hundred acres are cleared (in part out of a dense and lofty forest) at Bassa Cove, Edina, and at Bexley, (some five to eight miles up the beautiful river St. John's;) and at Greenville, Rossville, and Readville, on the Simon, are similar decided evidences of agricultural industry and improvement. It may be confidently predicted, that, whenever adequate capital, skill, and machinery shall be introduced, *the culture of rice and cotton, the sugar cane and coffee, will prove as successful and profitable as in any region of the world.* My personal inquiries and observations in Liberia have led me to concur in the opinion expressed by the intelligent committee of Bassa county, that in internal resources "it is unsurpassed by any country of the globe." This committee and that appointed by the citizens of Simon county both declare that the disposition for the cultivation of the soil is increasing. "We have," say the committee of Montserado county, "an extensive territory, which can at any time be easily enlarged, by compact with the proprietors of the soil, to any desirable extent. The soil is of the highest fertility, and adapted to a great variety of articles available in the arts and in commerce. The forests teem with valuable timber for furniture, house, and ship building. The rivers abound with choice fish, and the woods with game; and our gardens can be made to produce everything in their kind necessary to a comfortable existence."

The same committee state "that coffee of a superior kind is indigenous here, and the people are turning their attention to the cultivation of it, and means only are wanted to bring it in large quantities into the market; sugar cane also thrives well, though, for the same reason, no considerable quantity has been produced; cotton, ginger, arrowroot, and numerous plants and shrubs employed in the *materia medica*, grow here with the vigor and fruitfulness of indigenous articles." In addition to the great staples of *rice, cotton, the sugar cane, and coffee*, the Liberians specify *corn, cassada, yams, sweet potatoes, cabbages, arrowroot, turnips, beets, carrots, tomatoes, lima and other beans, peas, cymlings, chiot, ochra, cucumbers, choice varieties of pepper, ground-nuts, palma christi, the India-rubber tree, the croton-oil nut, and the palm tree*, (so multiplied in its uses,) as among their productions; and among their *fruits, oranges, lemons, limes, guavas, pine apples, plantains, bananas, tamarinds, rose-apples, pomegranates, cherries, cocoa nuts, paw-paws, mango plums, alligator pears, pat-mgo, bread fruit, melons*, and various other valuable vegetables and fruits of the tropics. Most of these have I myself seen growing luxuriantly in the gardens and farms of the republic.

According to the late Mr. Buxton, whose researches on the subject of the agricultural and commercial resources of Africa were very accurate and extensive, of dye-woods there are an abundance, yielding carmine, crimson, red, brown, brilliant yellow, and blue; of gums there are copal, senegal, mastic, and sudan or Turkey gum. The shea or butter-nut is hardly less valuable than the palm-nut. The tree producing it is said to extend over a large portion of the continent. Park thought the butter

made from it superior to that made from cows' milk. The same gentleman quotes, from a report on Sierra Leone, the opinion of Mr. McCormack, "that the delta of the Seeing Broom, Kitiani, and Gallenas rivers could grow *rice* enough for the supply of the whole of the West Indies."

Mr. Darymple, in 1779, found three different kinds of cotton at Goree, and states that it grows spontaneously everywhere, and that the samples sent home were considered by English merchants superior to that from the West Indies. According to the testimony of Colonel Denham, (as quoted by Mr. Buxton,) cotton of three kinds—white, brown, and pink—grows wild about Sierra Leone. The first is excellent. Mr. Ashmun states: "It is believed that none of the varieties of the American cotton shrub answers in all respects to the indigenous African tree. The cotton of this country is on all hands allowed to be of a good quality, and the mode of growing, curing, and manufacturing the article pursued in America may be adopted here, making due allowance for the much greater size and duration of the African tree. The same tree bears a succession of crops for a great number of years." \*

It is known to all who have visited Liberia, that large substantial cotton cloths, spun, woven, and dyed by the natives of interior Africa, are brought in great numbers for sale to the merchants of Monrovia and the neighboring settlements, and are purchased by the Africans on the coast.

Of the coffee here, Mr. Ashmun wrote: "No country will bring the product to higher perfection than Africa. Whether it is a native of the country, or was introduced at an early period by the Portuguese and Spaniards, may not now be certainly known. It has propagated itself on your hills, and along a great extent of the African coast, without culture, for many ages. South of your river (the Montserado) it grows everywhere, and the tree and berry attain a size unknown elsewhere. No crop is surer; and African coffee frequently produces four pounds to the tree in a season." The quality of the Liberia coffee is thought to approach nearly, if not to equal, that of the Mocha; and the tree, properly attended, will produce at least in quantity one-third more.

From what I saw of the growth of the sugar cane on several plantations on the St. Paul's, it is impossible for me to doubt that it will soon prove among the most valuable productions of that rich country. The Liberia Herald stated, more than a year ago, that Mr. Cyrus Willis, of Millsburg, had made in one season more than three thousand pounds of

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\* "But it may be said, that, though the land might be made to produce cotton, centuries must elapse before it can be made to yield any quantity of that article. I do not pretend to say that this will be suddenly accomplished; but an anecdote which I heard stated to the Marquis of Normanby, by a gentleman whose mercantile knowledge would not be disputed by any one, may serve to forbid despair. He stated that the person who first imported from America a bale of cotton into this country was still alive; that the person to whom it was consigned in Liverpool was still alive; and that the custom-house officer at that place referred to admitted it at the lower rate of duty, because, to his knowledge, no cotton could be grown in America: yet that country, which could grow no cotton, now, besides supplying her own demand, and that of all other countries, sends annually to Great Britain a quantity valued at about £15,000,000 sterling."—*Buxton*.

The Boston Journal states that a treaty has been concluded by which the Danish settlements in Africa, on the gold coast, have been ceded to Great Britain. It is stated that there is reason to believe that, with suitable encouragement, a supply of cotton of very good quality might be obtained from that part, where it is already produced to some extent by the natives for their own use.



beautiful sugar, and a quantity of excellent sirup. From the appearance of his cane fields, it was thought his subsequent crop would produce eight thousand pounds. Though the death, recently, of this enterprising man is to be regretted, it is hoped and expected that his experiment will be prosecuted successfully by others. Beaver says: "Of the vegetables that are wild, the sugar cane, cotton shrub, and indigo plant seem the most valuable. No country in the world is more amply enriched than this is with the chief productions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. The ground-nut yields a pure golden-colored oil, of a pleasant taste, and has been sold as high as £50 per ton. The castor nut grows wild on the banks of the Gambia and elsewhere. The ginger of Africa is particularly fine and high-flavored; it yields about sixty for one; and the people only want instruction in the method of preparing it for the European markets.

"The woods of this continent are extremely valuable. Travellers enumerate not less than forty species of timber, which grow in vast abundance, and are easily obtained—such as mahogany, teak, ebony, lignum-vitæ, rosewood, &c.

"With few considerable exceptions, the whole line of coast in western Africa accessible to trading vessels presents immense tracts of lands of the most fertile character, which only require the hand of industry and commercial enterprise to turn into inexhaustible mines of wealth."

The tea plant is reported by McQueen, on the authority of an Arabian traveller, and others more recent, to grow spontaneously and abundantly in the interior of Africa.

My friend, Mr. Harris, a purser in the navy, (and whose journal during several months on the African coast is before me, and filled with intelligent and interesting observations,) reports, from the Rev. B. R. Wilson, at Monrovia, the following statistics of Montserado county: 'This county, according to Mr. Wilson, has of civilized people about 3,000, and of native Africans 5,500; places for Christian worship 22, six of them exclusively for native communicants; no places of heathen worship; native communicants 150; 18 schools, 655 scholars, besides 225 native scholars; under cultivation 5,000 acres, on which are raised annually 300 bushels of corn, 8,000 to 10,000 bushels of rice, 15,000 bushels of cassada, 10 bushels of beans, 2,000 pounds of coffee, 50 pounds of cotton, 2,100 bushels of potatoes, 100 bushels of peas, 100 pounds of indigo, 100 pounds of sugar, 20 pounds of wax, 1,000 pounds of arrowroot, 100 gallons of palm wine, 2,000 hides; of animals should be mentioned 3,000 goats, 500 sheep, 300 hogs, a large supply of poultry, a few horses; while a great variety of tropical fruits and vegetables in abundance are produced with little labor of cultivation.

On the 300 acres of ground reported as under cultivation of the immigrant population (reported as about 1,500) at Grand Bassa, there are stated to be growing twenty-nine thousand (29,000) coffee trees.\*

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\*[From Africa's Luminary.]

#### REPORT ON AGRICULTURE.

BEXLEY, January 12, 1843.

SIR: It is with pleasure, after much trouble, that I submit to you an agricultural report of this place for the year 1847, which, if you think proper, you will please have published and laid before the legislature as a petition in favor of the farmers, as industry is the great wheel of fortune by which our national destiny is to be made. The following is as correct as I could possibly

Mr. Harris observes: "It must be conceded that Bassa is the great coffee district. The woods are entire coffee thickets, full of the indigenous wild shrub, yielding abundantly, from which scions, for transplanting upon their farms, may be obtained by all. It is only necessary for the new settler to burn over his farm of ten acres, and plant therein 2,500 coffee shrubs, so that they may be watched and cultivated, and he has made an investment which will pay better interest than State stocks. Two hundred and fifty trees may be cultivated to advantage on each acre, and at three years of age they will yield from three to four pounds each, increasing the quantity per annum as they grow larger. They often bear fruit the second year of their age, and every month of the year are to be seen upon their branches, at one and the same time, red and ripe berries, green berries of all sizes, and buds and blossoms. This perennial bearing is also peculiar to the palm tree. And this coffee, which is excellent, and is believed by many to be nearly if not quite equal to the Mocha, is mostly sold at 20 cents per pound. Thus far, however, the friends of colonization have purchased their surplus, and perhaps have paid too high a price.

"Judge Benson has a coffee farm of twenty acres, on which are seven thousand flourishing trees. Those which are six years of age average six pounds per annum. In addition to the ten acres of land given every new settler, he may purchase more at one dollar per acre. The soil yields two crops of corn and potatoes in a year, with rice, cassada, pepper, arrowroot, ginger, &c., &c. Indigo is a noxious weed, growing wild everywhere. The sugar cane thrives well. The native African cotton, similar to our plant, but of a much larger growth, is of rather short staple, but the shrub attains six and seven years of age, and yields abundantly and constantly. I was shown a tree from which two women had been knitting socks for years, and it afforded a surplus for their neighbors. Mr. Benson states that the industrious emigrant may get a good living, if he labor three or four hours a day. Mr. Henning, of Bassa, has invented a machine for extracting oil from the palm-nut, which is very pure, and sells at one dollar the gallon. One bushel of nuts will yield from the kernel, on an average, two gallons. Mr. Henning is able at present to manufacture ten gallons a day."

The Sinou settlement, with a population of about seven hundred, on the left bank of the river of that name, and which extends a mile on a very level ground, adorned with palm trees along the beach, and at a right angle with the river, gives evidence of great recent improvements,

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make it, after personally applying to the citizens for its items. So far from exaggeration, it is underrated. It embraces the entire business operations of this place during the last year:

*Bought*.—6½ tons of camwood; 1,440 gallons of palm oil; 30 pounds of ivory.

*Land cleared, &c*.—151 acres, of which 128 are cultivated; 13,260 planted coffee trees, 1,895 of which bear coffee; 243,000 shingles made; 137 feet of plank sawn; 57 hands continually at work; 9 dwelling-houses reared; 1 meeting-house.

*Raised*.—617 pounds of coffee; 2,829 pounds of ginger; 1,197 pounds of arrowroot; 238 bushels of rice; 3,136 bushels of cassada; 1,156 bushels of potatoes; 25 bushels of corn; 619 bunches plantains; 106 bunches bananas; 735 pounds yams; 1,173 fowls; 11 hogs; 83 goats; 52 sheep; 24 head of a cattle.

*Shipped*.—176 pounds of arrowroot; 1,064 pounds of ginger.

You are aware, I presume, that this place has been settled between seven and eight years. What has been done so far is but a small part of what could have been done if the farmers could have been suitably encouraged.

Your humble and obedient servant,

G. L. SEYMOUR.

and possesses many agricultural advantages. The company which arrived here some few months ago, of one hundred and eighty-one persons, from Savannah, are very intelligent and enterprising, and brought with them a great variety of articles for their dwellings, and for trade, and an amount of money estimated at \$30,000. This settlement, named Greenville, and the villages still higher up the river, bearing the names of Rossville\* and Readville, with a population of about seven or eight hundred, exhibit a goodly number of small, well-cleared, and industriously-cultivated farms; and the entire population are cheerfully and earnestly engaged in developing the resources of the soil, adding to the number of substantial houses, and to the comforts of their condition, or prosecuting a small but increasing traffic with the native inhabitants.

Of Greenville, Mr. Harris, who speaks from personal observation, and in the correctness of whose statement I concur, says: "The town is judiciously planned, with wide and parallel streets on either side, with small but comfortable dwelling-houses, some of two stories in height, and all having ample lots in the rear, with young trees growing around them, or some of them. The garden of Doctor Brown is as well filled with thriving vegetables as any of our American gardens; and the same may be said of other gardens in this place. They have no imposing churches, but convenient houses for worship, and three thriving schools—their teachers and preachers being men of color. One of the Readville farmers has on his grounds five hundred thriving coffee trees; and Mr. Morris, one of the leading citizens, a plantation of thirty-five hundred flourishing trees, yielding on an average each five pounds of excellent coffee, and some of them from twelve to fifteen pounds. When I learned the history of this settlement, I was surprised at the air of comfort and industry which everything about it seemed to indicate."†

The Bloobarra district, opposite Greenville, is high, rich, and inviting for purposes of agriculture and trade; and civilized settlements will, it is presumed, be speedily established in its limits. The elevation near the shore is such as to render it an eligible spot for a light-house; and, while it affords many advantages for the palm-oil trade, it extends back some twenty miles, and comprehends a region perhaps unsurpassed for agricultural purposes.

Of the Maryland colony, at Cape Palmas, with a civilized population of about nine hundred, though the soil may be inferior to that of some of the settlements of the republic, we may report increasing attention to agriculture, and fair prospects of success. The following statistics on this subject will show what had been done two years ago:

Number of acres cultivated	-	-	-	-	155
Number of acres in potatoes and cassadas	-	-	-	-	94
Number of coffee trees	-	-	-	-	1,497
Number of cotton trees	-	-	-	-	2,133
Number of orange trees	-	-	-	-	364
Number of plantain trees	-	-	-	-	6,349
Number of cocoa-nut trees	-	-	-	-	63
Number of cocoa and mango trees	-	-	-	-	160
Number of other fruit trees	-	-	-	-	1,491

At present the commerce of the republic is restricted mainly to articles

\* Sometimes called Louisiana.

† See appendix, note C.

supplied by the native African population from the spontaneous resources and growth of the country—palm oil, camwood, ivory, tortoise-shell, and occasionally small quantities of gold—given in exchange for tobacco, powder, muskets, rum, cotton goods, salt, soap, crockery and iron ware, copper and iron rods, and American provisions. Of course this trade must increase with the development of the agricultural resources of the country; nor is it easy to set limits to the amount or value of its exports, when human industry, skill, and labor shall have cleared away the wilderness, and brought its lands under the cultivation of a civilized people.

Hitherto the books of the Liberian custom-house have not shown the extent of the trade within the territory of the republic, because duties have been collected only at the ports of entry, while large English and German establishments have been conducting their operations on other and different points of the coast; and it is believed that more than one of these establishments have each exported annually as large an amount of produce, from regions under its authority, as the entire quantity set down as exports in the books of the collector. The energy and vigilance of the authorities of the republic will, it is presumed, give effect to an efficient revenue system, and foreign traders be compelled to enter all their goods, and pay thereon the prescribed duties.

The entire suppression of the slave trade within, and in both directions far beyond, the limits of the republic; the order, peace, and security arising under a just and well-administered government; the new encouragements and rewards extended to industry, in connexion with the vast extent of the camwood forests, and the great number and productiveness of the palm trees,—give reason to anticipate a rapid increase in the amount of some of the most valuable articles of African commerce. Of the present amount of imports and exports, different opinions are expressed by intelligent citizens of the republic. The committee at Simon estimate the imports annually at about four hundred thousand dollars, and the exports at seven hundred thousand. The committee of Monrovia represent that of palm oil are annually exported from the republic five hundred thousand gallons. The editor of the *Liberia Herald*, in an article on the palm oil trade of June 7th, 1847, says: "Every man in the colony knows that the palm trees abound throughout all our borders; that no space of five miles can be penetrated where they may not be counted by scores; that, where they do not grow, they have only to be planted; that the soil is everywhere adapted to them; and, also, that they become more prolific the more regularly the fruit is gathered from them. About the year 1815, Captain Spence, a merchant trader from London, purchased from the natives about the river Sesters two barrels of oil, and encouraged them to go on in procuring it, by engaging to take all they could make in the ensuing season. We may safely put down the amount exported in 1846 from the region extending from Cape Montserado down to Cape Palmas at *two millions of gallons.*"

The following letter from the secretary of the treasury of the Liberian republic merits a place in this report:

"MONROVIA, November 23, 1849.

"DEAR SIR: In reference to the conversation we had a few days ago as to the probable amount of commerce between Liberia and the United States, I have, after consulting with a gentleman of considerable experience in mercantile affairs, arrived at the conclusion that it may be safely

admitted that one-fifth of the entire trade with Liberia is with the United States.

"The committee whose duty it was to furnish you with a report have, I think, considerably underrated the annual exports from Liberia. It may be fairly stated at five hundred thousand dollars in African commodities, (one-fifth of which is one hundred thousand dollars,) and our imports from the United States may be estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

"It is worthy of remark, that, at present, it is only from the United States that our merchants import goods; and further, that the kind of goods most suitable for the African trade come from Europe.

"The commerce of Liberia is in its infancy; but it advances rapidly. The two principal articles of trade are tobacco and powder; and no country can compete with the United States in these items. Provisions, also, will soon find an extensive market in Liberia; already the natives have commenced purchasing them, particularly beef, pork, and salt fish.

"I am not exaggerating when I say that the trade advances at least fifty per cent. annually.

"The American cotton goods are in quality superior to those brought from Europe; but there is a material difference in the price. The European is the cheapest; and hence the inability of the American to compete with the European. In Liberia we attribute the difference in price to the low price of labor in Europe.

"Yours, very respectfully,

"M. LEWIS.

"REV. R. R. GURLEY."

For statements in regard to our commerce with western Africa, derived from the Treasury Department, see appendix, J.

The republic of Liberia will not only, by an improved agricultural system, augment vastly the present productions and commerce of Africa, but, by exploring the interior, opening avenues of safe and friendly communication with distant and powerful tribes, instructing them in the habits, the arts, and the manners of civilization, stimulating their industry and rewarding their labor, bring to light the hidden treasures and make available the already existing vast resources of that country. It has been very justly said, "that what the soil of Africa wants, is labor to render it productive; what the population of Africa require, is capital and industry and security—with intelligence to maintain the latter and to direct the two former."<sup>\*</sup> Up to this hour, the lawful commerce of Africa with the civilized world has been extremely limited; but, under the influence of civilized States founded on her shores, it is capable of being indefinitely increased, and rendered incalculably valuable to her own population and to the inhabitants of other quarters of the world.†

Of education, an object essential to every community, the people and government of Liberia have not been unmindful. Repeatedly have acts been passed by the legislature for the establishment and support of schools, but the revenues of the republic have proved insufficient to carry them into effect. It is now expected that the means of the government will be speedily augmented, and that the congress will, without

<sup>\*</sup> McQueen.

† See appendix D.

delay, establish a system of general education on a broad and permanent basis. Schools have, for many years, been sustained in the various settlements of Liberia by benevolent individuals and associations in the United States; and the missionary societies of different denominations, which, within the limits and guarded by the laws of the republic, are prosecuting with admirable zeal and fidelity their Christian labors, instruct in numerous schools both the children of its citizens and of the native African tribes. That a number of the respectable citizens of Liberia, some of them now distinguished officers of her government, were brought to Africa in their childhood, and are indebted for their education entirely to her schools, their own energy, and to the new circumstances which surround them, is a fact illustrative of their advantages, and of the beneficent power of their present motives and hopes.

Dedicating herself with extraordinary liberality and vigor of purpose to the cause of Christianity in Liberia, the Methodist Episcopal church of the United States has sent to its shores her sons with the treasures of divine truth and the messages of divine mercy; and, in fourteen day schools and eighteen Sunday schools, they afford instruction to not less than six hundred and ninety pupils.

Animated by a kindred spirit, the Southern Baptist Board of Missions have gathered into their schools in the republic three hundred and thirty children, ninety-two of whom are children of native Africans; and their missionaries preach the divine word to ten thousand of the native population.

The Northern Baptist Board have missionary schools at Bexley, in Bassa county, and at Little Bassa: at the former twenty four native pupils, and at the latter sixteen—both schools being conducted by educated native teachers of exemplary piety. A Baptist church is organized in connexion with this mission at Bexley, sixteen native Africans having been admitted to its communion.

Several missionary stations are occupied by the board of the Presbyterian church, (old school,) and schools and churches sustained by them at Monrovia, Sinou, and on the banks of the St. Paul's river. A plan is already adopted for the establishment and endowment of a high school at Monrovia,\* to bear the honored name of *Alexander*, to be sustained by the donations of members of this communion. The Rev. Mr. Ellis, who will be connected with this seminary, has acquired knowledge under most depressing circumstances, and proved how a strong and virtuous mind may encounter and subdue the evils of fortune.

Of Mr. James's school at Monrovia, which derives support from the benevolent ladies of New York city, I concur in the opinion of Mr. Harris, "that it would be an honor and an ornament to any New England village." "I visited (he continues) this school, and am compelled to confess, that, in reading, writing, grammar, geography, and all the branches of a common-school education, I never witnessed greater proficiency of scholars of the same age in any part of my native New England. This school was founded by the ladies of New York; and my impression is, that they continue to contribute with great liberality to its maintenance."

The mission of the Protestant Episcopal church, at Cape Palmas, (the seat of the Maryland Colony,) has three native male schools, containing

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\* See Statistics of Monrovia, appendix K.

about seventy pupils, and two female boarding schools, containing forty scholars. In the Sunday and night schools of the mission are about 220 to 240 pupils of both sexes. In addition to these schools for natives, are two day and two Sunday schools for the children of the colonists. The male school has fifteen pupils now preparing for a contemplated high school, and the female day school has about fifty scholars, while the two Sunday schools embrace from eighty to one hundred children.

Of native and colonial children, the number under the care and patronage of this mission exceeds three hundred; of native communicants there are about forty-five, and in connexion with the colonial church twenty-five, making in all seventy members.

The intelligent governor of the Maryland Colony, in reply to inquiries on the subject of education, says: "We have six day schools, numbering 174 pupils, and three Sunday schools of 128. We are in great need of a high school, in which the higher branches of education may be taught."

Every civilized stranger, instructed in the truths, and sensible of the value, of the Christian religion, who visits the republic of Liberia, must experience an inexpressible delight, not only in the visible evidences of the institutions of a free and well-organized State, but in the quiet, ever-active, and beneficent operations of missionary teachers, penetrating, and making glad by their presence, the gloom of the African forest, and, under the protection of its government, inviting not only its sons and daughters into their schools, but imparting, with a zeal, a cheerfulness, and a perseverance not to be discouraged and not to be defeated, a knowledge of letters, of some branches of science, and, above all, of Divine Revelation, to the superstitious and barbarous population of Africa. To find Christian teachers and ministers, with libraries, small, but of choice books, in their thatched dwellings, beneath the shade of the palm tree, in spots where but a few openings have been made in the dense forest; to see groups of native African children gathered for instruction; to listen to voices of Christian worshippers, and hear the songs of Christian praise, amid the habitations of idolatry and cruelty,—gives beauty even to the aspect of uncultivated nature, and animates with unwonted joy every thoughtful and benevolent heart.

The authorities and people of Liberia cherish a sincere attachment to the government and people of the United States. They are sensible that under the auspices of American benevolence they have attained to their present elevation, from which they are permitted to see before them a widely-expanding and glorious prospect of social happiness and political prosperity and renown. To the entire people of the republic, the recognition of their independence by the government of the United States is an object of earnest desire. The peculiarities of the condition of the free people of color, and others of the African race, in this country, they well know, and have no wish, by any relations which may be established between their government and ours, to cause inconvenience or embarrassment. While their wish and purpose is to maintain a just self-respect, as a free and independent republic, before the world, they will, I doubt not, be disposed to accommodate (as far as may be without exposure to dishonor or self-reproach) their arrangements to the sense and views of the American government. It has been suggested that they might conduct all their public affairs in this country with the United States through some one or more of its citizens, in case our government should feel inclined to con-

fide to citizens of Liberia any business it might wish transacted in Africa with the authorities of that republic.

The scheme of African colonization originated not only in benevolence towards our colored population, but towards both races on this continent, and towards two quarters of the globe. At its inception, our most illustrious statesmen—a Jefferson, Marshall, Monroe, and Madison—gave to it their sanction. It was seen to unite Christian philanthropy with political expediency—a just regard for our national welfare with the more solemn obligations of religious duty. It has derived strength from the homes of the good and pious in our southern States, and found eloquent advocates and defenders in their legislative halls. Many States have urged its claims upon the general government, and the voices of the churches of every name second their appeals.

But it is the success of the plan of African colonization, as seen in the independent republic of Liberia, that most conclusively commends it to national consideration. On that far-distant shore, for ages darkened by superstition and outraged by crime, a community of free colored persons from the United States, aided by American benevolence, have adopted a constitution of free government, and taken their high position among the independent States of the world. England and France have acknowledged their right of self government and their just claim to the respect and comity of nations. What higher motives can be imagined than those which have given existence to this republic?—what work more honorable or more sublime than that to which it is dedicated and destined? Though at present few in numbers and very limited in means, a vast field for action and influence opens before it; and in its constitution and laws, in the spirit of its people, the advantages of its position, and the motives and necessities of those who are hastening to build up their homes and their fortunes under the shadow of its wings, we see the elements of mighty power, of an unbounded growth and prosperity. It has been justly said, that “the great necessity of the world at this moment is a free, civilized, and powerful State within the tropics—a necessity felt through every period of the world’s history, and now about to be realized. The western coast of Africa is in every point of view the most effective position for such a State to occupy. The black race, of which there cannot be much less than 150,000,000 on earth, is pre-eminently the race needing such a development, and prepared for it; and the United States are exactly in a condition to found such a commonwealth with this race, and under circumstances the most glorious to ourselves, the most hopeful to the world, and the most beneficial to the blacks.”\* Around this republic of Liberia—the morning star of Africa’s redemption, revealing how great evils may be transmuted by the hand of the Almighty into an incalculable good; which looks with encouraging and cheering aspect upon the African race in every part of the earth; reconciles the gift of liberty with the highest interests of those who bestow and those who receive it; opens a quarter of the world for many years shut up in barbarism to the genial and renovating influence of letters, laws, commerce, and Christianity—are gathered the sympathies of all virtuous and generous minds, allied with its safeguard, the all-encircling and never-slumbering power of an omnipotent Providence. The rapid increase of free persons of color in many of the States of this

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\* Rev. Dr. Breckenridge. See appendix E.



Union; the importance, for their benefit more than our own, of their organization into a community by themselves, in the land of their ancestors; the immense advantages such a community must secure to itself and extend to others, by developing the resources and turning into legitimate channels the commerce of Africa, by the civilization it must impart, and the moral and political truths it must exemplify and enforce among her ignorant, debased, and chaotic population—all commend the republic of Liberia to the regards of the general government of this Union.\* Engaged in a work of unsurpassed dignity and importance, the inhabitants of this small republic are accomplishing more good, as I must believe, than any equal number of human beings, in private stations, on the face of the globe. More than to the united endeavors of all Christian nations, with their treaties and armed squadrons against the slave trade, is humanity indebted for its suppression along many hundred miles of the African coast to the people of Liberia. But it should not be concealed, that to explore Africa; to establish commercial intercourse and relations with her interior tribes; to improve and fortify the harbors of the republic; to make needful experiments in agriculture and the arts in a region to which the people from this country have so recently been introduced, and to maintain a wise system of education for all classes of her population, so that its territory shall offer an attractive home to all the free descendants of Africa, demands pecuniary means to which the present revenues of Liberia are unequal. But since this republic, more than any other power, will develop the resources and increase the trade of western Africa, the United States, in aiding her endeavors, will open new markets for American productions, and essentially augment American commerce. Yet far higher and nobler motives than those of gain, will, I trust, incline our national authorities to encourage and assist the citizens of Liberia, a few adventurous but determined children of Africa, gone out from our midst, that they may recover their long-lost inheritance, show their ability to build up civilized cities and states in regions where they have been unknown, and bring a vast continent, now lying in dim eclipse, within the circle and the influences of enlightened and Christian nations.

From the presence of our squadron on the African coast, benefits, doubtless, accrue both to Liberia and to our own commerce; but I may be permitted, in the conclusion of this report, to avow the opinion that a recognition by the government of the United States of the independence of the republic of Liberia, and an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars a year for ten years, to enable that republic to carry out the principles of its constitution, for the happiness of those who from this country are seeking a home upon its soil; for the suppression of the slave trade; and the civilization of Africa, would be in harmony with the character and sentiments of this nation, and give stability, progress, and triumph to liberty and Christianity on the African shore.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the highest consideration and respect, your friend and obedient servant,

R. R. GURLEY.

HON. J. M. CLAYTON,

*Secretary of State of the United States.*

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\* See appendix, E and H, and subsequent testimony given in to the select committee of the British House of Lords.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND CONSTITUTION  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

## IN CONVENTION.

*Declaration of Independence.*

We, the representatives of the people of the commonwealth of Liberia, in convention assembled, invested with authority for forming a new government, relying upon the aid and protection of the Great Arbiter of human events, do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the people of this commonwealth, publish and declare the said commonwealth a free, sovereign, and independent State, by the name and title of the Republic of Liberia.

While announcing to the nations of the world the new position which the people of this republic have felt themselves called upon to assume, courtesy to their opinion seems to demand a brief accompanying statement of the causes which induced them, first to expatriate themselves from the land of their nativity, and to form settlements on this barbarous coast, and now to organize their government by the assumption of a sovereign and independent character. Therefore we respectfully ask their attention to the following facts:

We recognise in all men certain natural and inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the right to acquire, possess, enjoy, and defend property. By the practice and consent of men in all ages, some system or form of government is proven to be necessary to exercise, enjoy, and secure these rights; and every people has a right to institute a government and to choose and adopt that system, or form of it, which, in their opinion, will most effectually accomplish these objects, and secure their happiness, which does not interfere with the just rights of others. The right, therefore, to institute government, and to all the powers necessary to conduct it, is an inalienable right, and cannot be resisted without the grossest injustice.

We, the people of the republic of Liberia, were originally the inhabitants of the United States of North America.

In some parts of that country, we were debarred by law from all the rights and privileges of men—in other parts, public sentiment, more powerful than law, frowned us down.

We were everywhere shut out from all civil office.

We were excluded from all participation in the government.

We were taxed without our consent.

We were compelled to contribute to the resources of a country which gave us no protection.

We were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands, of a color different from ours, were preferred before us.

We uttered our complaints, but they were unattended to, or only met by alleging the peculiar institutions of the country.

All hope of a favorable change in our country was thus wholly extinguished in our bosoms, and we looked with anxiety abroad for some asylum from the deep degradation.

The western coast of Africa was the place selected by American benevolence and philanthropy, for our future home. Removed beyond those influences which depressed us in our native land, it was hoped we would be enabled to enjoy those rights and privileges, and exercise and improve those faculties, which the God of nature has given us in common with the rest of mankind.

Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, we established ourselves here, on land acquired by purchase from the lords of the soil.

In an original compact with this society, we, for important reasons, delegated to it certain political powers; while this institution stipulated that whenever the people should become capable of conducting the government, or whenever the people should desire it, this institution would resign the delegated power, peaceably withdraw its supervision, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

Under the auspices and guidance of this institution, which has nobly and in perfect faith redeemed its pledges to the people, we have grown and prospered.

From time to time, our number has been increased by emigration from America, and by accession from native tribes; and from time to time, as circumstances required it, we have extended our borders by acquisition of land by honorable purchase from the natives of the country.

As our territory has extended, and our population increased, our commerce has also increased. The flags of most of the civilized nations of the earth float in our harbors, and their merchants are opening an honorable and profitable trade. Until recently, these visits have been of a uniformly harmonious character; but as they have become more frequent, and to more numerous points of our extending coast, questions have arisen, which, it is supposed, can be adjusted only by agreement between sovereign powers.

For years past, the American Colonization Society has virtually withdrawn from all direct and active part in the administration of the government, except in the appointment of the governor, who is also a colonist, for the apparent purpose of testing the ability of the people to conduct the affairs of government, and no complaint of crude legislation, nor of mismanagement, nor of mal-administration, has yet been heard.

In view of these facts, this institution, the American Colonization Society, with that good faith which has uniformly marked all its dealings with us, did, by a set of resolutions in January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, dissolve all political connexion with the people of this republic, return the power with which it was delegated, and left the people to the government of themselves.

The people of the republic of Liberia, then, are of right, and in fact, a free, sovereign, and independent State, possessed of all the rights, powers, and functions of government.

In assuming the momentous responsibilities of the position they have taken, the people of this republic feel justified by the necessities of the case, and with this conviction they throw themselves with confidence upon the candid consideration of the civilized world.

Liberia is not the offspring of grasping ambition, nor the tool of avaricious speculation.

No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores; nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high considerations of those who aided us in providing this asylum.

Liberia is an asylum from the most grinding oppression.

In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we would be permitted to exercise and improve those faculties which impart to man his dignity; to nourish in our hearts the flame of honorable ambition; to cherish and indulge those aspirations which a beneficent Creator had implanted in every human heart, and to evince to all who despise, ridicule, and oppress our race, that we possess with them a common nature; are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man.

We were animated with the hope, that here we should be at liberty to train up our children in the way they should go; to inspire them with the love of an honorable fame; to kindle within them the flame of a lofty philanthropy; and to form strong within them the principles of humanity, virtue, and religion.

Among the strongest motives to leave our native land—to abandon forever the scenes of our childhood, and to sever the most endeared connexions—was the desire for a retreat where, free from the agitations of fear and molestation, we could, in composure and security, approach in worship the God of our fathers.

Thus far our highest hopes have been realized.

Liberia is already the happy home of thousands who were once the doomed victims of oppression; and if left unmolested to go on with her natural and spontaneous growth; if her movements be left free from the paralyzing intrigues of jealous ambition and unscrupulous avarice, she will throw open a wider and yet a wider door for thousands who are now looking with an anxious eye for some land of rest.

Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen for the redress of grievances, for the remedy of injuries, and for the punishment of crime.

Our numerous and well attended schools attest our efforts and our desire for the improvement of our children.

Our churches for the worship of our Creator, everywhere to be seen, bear testimony to our piety and to our acknowledgment of his providence.

The native African bowing down with us before the altar of the living God, declares that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth, while upon that curse of curses, the slave trade, a deadly blight has fallen, as far as our influence extends.

Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue, and religion, in the name of the great God our common Creator, and our common judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask of them that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly considerations to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and to extend to us that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities.

## CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1.—*Declaration of Rights.*

The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic; to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights, and the blessings of life; and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity, and happiness.

Therefore, we, the people of the commonwealth of Liberia in Africa, acknowledging with devout gratitude the goodness of God, in granting to us the blessings of the Christian religion, and political, religious, and civil liberty, do, in order to secure these blessings for ourselves and our posterity, and to establish justice, insure domestic peace, and promote the general welfare, hereby solemnly associate and constitute ourselves a free, sovereign, and independent State, by the name of the Republic of Liberia, and do ordain and establish this constitution for the government of the same.

SECTION 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent, and inalienable rights—among which are the rights of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and of pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness.

SEC. 2. All power is inherent in the people; all free governments are instituted by their authority and for their benefit, and they have a right to alter and reform the same when their safety and happiness require it.

SEC. 3. All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, without obstruction or molestation from others: all persons demeaning themselves peaceably, and not obstructing others in their religious worship, are entitled to the protection of the law in the free exercise of their own religion, and no sect of Christians shall have exclusive privileges or preference over any other sect, but all shall be alike tolerated; and no religious test whatever shall be required as a qualification for civil office, or the exercise of any civil right.

SEC. 4. There shall be no slavery within this republic; nor shall any citizen of this republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this republic, directly or indirectly.

SEC. 5. The people have a right at all times, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble and consult upon the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the government or any public functionaries for the redress of grievances.

SEC. 6. Every person injured shall have remedy therefor by due course of law; justice shall be done without denial or delay; and in all cases not arising under martial law, or upon impeachment, the parties shall have a right to a trial by jury, and to be heard in person or by counsel, or both.

SEC. 7. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime, except in cases of impeachment, cases arising in the army and navy, and petty offences, unless upon presentment by a grand jury; and every person criminally charged shall have a right to be seasonably furnished with a copy of the charge, to be confronted with the witnesses against

him, and have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have a speedy, public, and impartial trial by a jury of the vicinity. He shall not be compelled to furnish or give evidence against himself, and no person shall for the same offence be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb.

SEC. 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, or privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

SEC. 9. No place shall be searched nor person seized on a criminal charge or suspicion, unless upon warrant lawfully issued, upon probable cause supported by oath or solemn affirmation, specially designating the place or person, and the object of the search.

SEC. 10. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor excessive punishments inflicted; nor shall the legislature make any law impairing the obligation of contracts; nor any law rendering any act punishable, in any manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed.

SEC. 11. All elections shall be by ballot, and every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, shall have the right of suffrage.

SEC. 12. The people have a right to keep and bear arms for the common defence. And as, in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature, and the military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

SEC. 13. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

SEC. 14. The powers of this government shall be divided into three distinct departments—the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial; and no person belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any of the powers belonging to either of the others. This section is not to be construed to include justices of the peace.

SEC. 15. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this republic.

The press shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any branch of the government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the rights thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

SEC. 16. No subsidy, charge, impost, or duties ought to be established, fixed, laid, or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people, or their representatives in the legislature.

SEC. 17. Suits may be brought against the republic in such manner and in such cases as the legislature may by law direct.

SEC. 18. No person can, in any case, be subjected to the law martial, or to any penalties or pains, by virtue of that law, (except those employed

in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service,) but by the authority of the legislature.

SEC. 19. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right at such periods, and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life, and fill up vacant places, by certain and regular elections and appointments.

SEC. 20. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences, when the proof is evident, or presumption great; and the privilege and the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus shall be enjoyed in this republic, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a limited time, not exceeding twelve months.

## ARTICLE II.—*Legislative Powers.*

SECTION 1. The legislative power shall be vested in a legislature of Liberia, and consist of two separate branches—a House of Representatives and a Senate, to be styled the Legislature of Liberia—each of which shall have a negative on the other; and the enacting style of their acts and laws shall be, “It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the republic of Liberia in legislature assembled.”

SEC. 2. The representatives shall be elected by and for the inhabitants of the several counties of Liberia, and shall be apportioned among the several counties of Liberia, as follows: The county of Montserado shall have four representatives, the county of Grand Bassa shall have three, and the county of Sinoe shall have one, and all counties hereafter which shall be admitted in the republic shall have one representative, and for every ten thousand inhabitants one representative shall be added. No person shall be a representative who has not resided in the county two whole years immediately previous to his election, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county, and does not own real estate of not less value than one hundred and fifty dollars in the county in which he resides, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-three years. The representatives shall be elected biennially, and shall serve two years from the time of their election.

SEC. 3. When a vacancy occurs in the representation of any county by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be filled by a new election.

SEC. 4. The House of Representatives shall elect their own speaker and other officers; they shall also have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 5. The Senate shall consist of two members from Montserado county, two from Bassa county, two from Sinoe county, and two from each county which may be hereafter incorporated into this republic. No person shall be a senator who shall not have resided three whole years immediately previous to his election in the republic of Liberia, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county which he represents, and who does not own real estate of not less value than two hundred dollars in the county which he represents, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years. The senator for each county who shall have the highest number of votes shall retain his seat for four years, and the one who shall have the next highest number of votes two years,

and all who are afterwards elected to fill their seats shall remain in office four years.

SEC. 6. The Senate shall try all impeachments; the senators being first sworn, or solemnly affirmed, to try the same impartially, and according to law, and no person shall be convicted but by the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators present. Judgment in such cases shall not extend beyond removal from office, and disqualification to hold an office in the republic, but the party may still be tried at law for the same offence.

When either the President or Vice President is to be tried, the chief justice shall preside.

SEC. 7. It shall be the duty of the legislature as soon as conveniently may be after the adoption of this constitution, and once at least in every ten years afterwards, to cause a true census to be taken of each town and county of the republic of Liberia, and a representative shall be allowed every town having a population of ten thousand inhabitants, and for every additional ten thousand in the counties after the first census one representative shall be added to that county until the number of representatives shall amount to thirty—afterwards one representative shall be added for every thirty thousand.

SEC. 8. Each branch of the legislature shall be judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members. A majority of each shall be necessary to transact business, but a less number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members. Each house may adopt its own rules of proceeding, enforce order, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, may expel a member.

SEC. 9. Neither house shall adjourn for more than two days without the consent of the other; and both houses shall sit in the same town.

SEC. 10. Every bill or resolution which shall have passed both branches of the legislature, shall, before it becomes a law, be laid before the President for his approval. If he approves, he shall sign it; if not, he shall return it to the legislature with his objections. If the legislature shall afterwards pass the bill or resolution by a vote of two thirds in each branch, it shall become a law. If the President shall neglect to return such bill or resolution to the legislature with his objection for five days after the same shall have been so laid before him—the legislature remaining in session during that time—such neglect shall be equivalent to his signature.

SEC. 11. The senators and representatives shall receive from the republic a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law; and shall be privileged from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, while attending at, going to, or returning from the session of the legislature.

### ARTICLE III.—*Executive Power.*

SECTION 1. The supreme executive power shall be vested in a President, who shall be elected by the people, and shall hold his office for the term of two years. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He shall, in the recess of the legislature, have power to call out the militia, or any portion thereof, into actual service in defence of the republic. He shall have power to make treaties, provided the Senate concur therein by a vote of two-thirds of the senators present. He shall nominate, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint and commission all



ambassadors, and other public ministers and consuls, secretaries of state, of war, of the navy, and of the treasury; attorney general, all judges of courts, sheriffs, coroners, marshals, justices of the peace, clerks of courts, registers, notaries public, and all other officers of State, civil and military, whose appointment may not be otherwise provided for by the constitution, or by standing laws; and, in the recess of the Senate, he may fill any vacancy in those offices, until the next session of the Senate. He shall receive all ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed. He shall inform the legislature, from time to time, of the condition of the republic, and recommend any public measures for their adoption which he may think expedient. He may, after conviction, remit any public forfeitures and penalties, and grant reprieves and pardons for public offences, except in cases of impeachment. He may require information and advice from any public officer, touching matters pertaining to his office. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the legislature, and may adjourn the two houses whenever they cannot agree as to the time of adjournment.

SEC. 2. There shall be a Vice President, who shall be elected in the same manner and for the same term as that of the President, and whose qualifications shall be the same; he shall be president of the Senate, and give the casting vote when the house is equally divided on any subject. And in case of the removal of the President from office, or his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the legislature may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

SEC. 3. The secretary of state shall keep the records of the State, and all the records and papers of the legislative body, and all other public records and documents, not belonging to any other department, and shall lay the same, when required, before the President or legislature. He shall attend upon them when required, and perform such other duties as may be enjoined by law.

SEC. 4. The secretary of the treasury, or other person who may by law be charged with the custody of the public moneys, shall, before he receive such moneys, give bonds to the State, with sufficient sureties, to the acceptance of the legislature, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall exhibit a true account of such moneys when required by the President or legislature; and no moneys shall be drawn from the treasury but by warrant from the President, in consequence of appropriation made by law.

SEC. 5. All ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls, the secretary of state, of war, of the treasury, and of the navy, the attorney general, and postmaster general, shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the President. All justices of the peace, sheriffs, marshals, clerks of courts, registers, and notaries public, shall hold their office for the term of two years from the date of their respective commissions; but may be removed from office within that time by the President, at his pleasure; and all other officers whose term of office may not be otherwise limited by law, shall hold their office during the pleasure of the President.

SEC. 6. Every civil officer may be removed from office by impeachment, for official misconduct. Every such officer may also be removed by

the President, upon the address of both branches of the legislature, stating the particular reasons for his removal.

SEC. 7. No person shall be eligible to the office of President, who has not been a citizen of this republic for at least five years, and shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years; and who shall not be possessed of unincumbered real estate of not less value than six hundred dollars.

SEC. 8. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected. And before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation :

I do solemnly swear, (or affirm,) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the republic of Liberia, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution and enforce the laws of the republic of Liberia.

#### ARTICLE IV.—*Judicial Department.*

SECTION 1. The judicial power of this republic shall be vested in one supreme court, and such subordinate courts as the legislature may from time to time establish. The judges of the supreme courts, and all other judges of courts, shall hold their office during good behaviour; but may be removed by the President, on the address of two-thirds of both houses for that purpose, or by impeachment and conviction thereon. The judges shall have salaries established by law, which may be increased but not diminished during their continuance in office. They shall not receive any other perquisite or emoluments whatever, from parties or others, on account of any duty required of them.

SEC. 2. The supreme court shall have original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors or other public ministers and consuls, and those to which the republic shall be a party. In all other cases the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the legislature shall from time to time make.

#### ARTICLE V.—*Miscellaneous provisions.*

SECTION 1. All laws now in force in the commonwealth of Liberia, and not repugnant to this constitution, shall be in force as the laws of the republic of Liberia, until they shall be repealed by the legislature.

SEC. 2. All judges, magistrates, and other officers now concerned in the administration of justice in the commonwealth of Liberia, and all other existing civil and military officers therein, shall continue to hold and discharge their respective offices in the name and by the authority of the republic, until others shall be appointed and commissioned in their stead pursuant to this constitution.

SEC. 3. All towns and municipal corporations within this republic, constituted under the laws of the commonwealth of Liberia, shall retain their existing organizations and privileges, and the respective officers thereof shall remain in office, and act under the authority of this republic, in the same manner and with the like powers as they now possess under the laws of said commonwealth.

SEC. 4. The first election of President, Vice President, senators, and

representatives shall be held on the first Tuesday in October, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-seven, in the same manner as elections of members of the council are chosen in the commonwealth of Liberia, and the votes shall be certified and returned to the colonial secretary, and the result of the election shall be ascertained, posted, and notified by him as it is now by law provided in case of such members of council.

SEC. 5. All other elections of President, Vice President, senators, and representatives, shall be held in the respective towns, on the first Tuesday in May, in every two years, to be held and regulated in such manner as the legislature may by law prescribe. The returns of votes shall be made to the secretary of state, who shall open the same, and forthwith issue notice of the election to the persons apparently so elected senators and representatives; and all such returns shall be by him laid before the legislature at its next ensuing session, together with a list of the names of the persons who appear by such returns to have been duly elected senators and representatives; and the persons appearing by said returns to be duly elected shall proceed to organize themselves accordingly as the Senate and House of Representatives. The votes for President shall be sorted, counted, and declared by the House of Representatives. And if no person shall appear to have a majority of such votes, the senators and representatives present shall in convention, by joint ballot, elect from among the persons having the three highest number of votes, a person to act as President for the ensuing term.

SEC. 6. The legislature shall assemble once at least in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in January, unless a different day shall be appointed by law.

SEC. 7. Every legislator and other officer appointed under this constitution, shall, before he enters upon the duties of his office, take and subscribe a solemn oath or affirmation to support the constitution of this republic, and faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of such office. The presiding officer of the Senate shall administer such oath or affirmation to the President, in convention of both houses; and the President shall administer the same to the Vice President, to the senators, and to the representatives in like manner. If the President is unable to attend, the chief justice of the supreme court may administer the oath or affirmation to him, at any place, and also to the Vice President, senators, and representatives, in convention. Other officers may take such oath or affirmation before the President, chief justice, or any other person who may be designated by law.

SEC. 8. All elections of public officers shall be made by a majority of the votes, except in cases otherwise regulated by the constitution or by law.

SEC. 9. Offices created by this constitution which the circumstances of the republic do not require that they shall be filled, shall not be filled until the legislature shall deem it necessary.

SEC. 10. The property of which a woman may be possessed at the time of her marriage, and also that of which she may afterwards become possessed, otherwise than by her husband, shall not be held responsible for his debts, whether contracted before or after marriage.

Nor shall the property thus intended to be secured to the woman be

alienated otherwise than by her free and voluntary consent, and such alienation may be made by her either by sale, devise, or otherwise.

SEC. 11. In all cases in which estates are insolvent, the widow shall be entitled to one-third of the real estate during her natural life, and to one-third of the personal estate which she shall hold in her own right, subject to alienation by her, by devise or otherwise.

SEC. 12. No person shall be entitled to hold real estate in this republic, unless he be a citizen of the same. Nevertheless, this article shall not be construed to apply to colonization, missionary, educational, or other benevolent institutions, so long as the property or estate is applied to its legitimate purposes.

SEC. 13. The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent, none but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this republic.

SEC. 14. The purchase of any land by any citizen or citizens from the aborigines of this country, for his or their own use, or for the benefit of others, as estate or estates in fee simple, shall be considered null and void to all intents and purposes.

SEC. 15. The improvement of the native tribes and their advancement in the arts of agriculture and husbandry being a cherished object of this government, it shall be the duty of the President to appoint in each county some discreet person, whose duty it shall be to make regular and periodical tours through the country, for the purpose of calling the attention of the natives to these wholesome branches of industry, and of instructing them in the same; and the legislature shall, as soon as can conveniently be done, make provision for these purposes by the appropriation of money.

SEC. 16. The existing regulations of the American Colonization Society, in the commonwealth, relative to emigrants, shall remain the same in the republic, until regulated by compact between the society and the republic: nevertheless, the legislature shall make no law prohibiting emigration. And it shall be among the first duties of the legislature to take measures to arrange the future relations between the American Colonization Society and this republic.

SEC. 17. This constitution may be altered whenever two-thirds of both branches of the legislature shall deem it necessary; in which case the alterations or amendments shall first be considered and approved by the legislature, by the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of each branch, and afterwards by them submitted to the people, and adopted by two-thirds of all the electors at the next biennial meeting for the election of senators and representatives.

Done in convention at Monrovia, in the county of Montserado, by the unanimous consent of the people of the commonwealth of Liberia, this twenty-sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, and of the republic the first.

In witness whereof, we have hereto set our names.

S. BENEDICT, <i>President</i> ,	} <i>Montserado county.</i>
J. N. LEWIS,	
H. TEAGE,	
BEVERLY R. WILSON,	
ELIJAH JOHNSON,	
J. B. GRIPON,	

JOHN DAY,  
A. W. GARDNER,  
AMOS HERRING,  
EPHRAIM TITLER,  
R. E. MURRAY, *county of Sinoe.*

} *Grand Bassa county.*

J. W. PROUT, *Secretary of Convention.*

MONROVIA, *July 29, 1847.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Having finished our labors, we now have the honor of submitting to your consideration, through the governor, that constitution which in our opinion will best suit the peculiar circumstances of the people of this infant republic. That our labors will meet the full approbation of every individual citizen, is scarcely to be expected; we trust, however, that a large majority of our fellow-citizens will approve our doings, and adopt the constitution herewith submitted.

In our deliberations, we endeavored to keep our minds steadily fixed upon the great objects of civil government, and have done what we conceived to be best for the general interest of this rising republic. We endeavored carefully to arrange every subject that might possibly arise, calculated to disturb in the least the friendly feeling which now so happily subsists between the different counties of this republic. We felt deeply the importance and magnitude of the work submitted to our hands, and have done the very best we could in order to afford general satisfaction.

In view of the peculiarity of our circumstances, the new position we have assumed is indeed a gigantic one, and the government now calls to its support every citizen who is at all concerned for the safety and future prosperity of this our only home.

Knowing, however, that our cause is just, we feel encouraged, and believe that under God, by a speedy perseverance, we shall fully succeed.

In publishing to the world our *independence*, we have thought proper to accompany that document with a declaration of the causes which induced us to leave the land of our nativity, and to form settlements on this coast, and also an appeal to the sympathies of all civilized nations, soliciting their aid and protection, and especially that they would, notwithstanding our peculiar circumstances, speedily recognise our *independence*.

And that the flag of this republic at no distant day may be seen floating upon every breeze, and in every land respected, it is our earnest desire that the affairs of this government may be so conducted as to merit the approbation of all Christendom, and restore to Africa her long lost glory, and that Liberia, under the guidance of Heaven, may continue a happy asylum for our long oppressed race, and a blessing to the benighted and degraded natives of this vast peninsula. To secure which is our ardent wish and prayer.

With great respect, we have the honor of being your obedient and humble servants.

By the unanimous order of the convention:

SAMUEL BENEDICT, *President.*

*Flag and Seal of the Republic of Liberia.*

The following flag and seal were adopted by the convention, as the insignia of the Republic of Liberia, and ordered to be employed to mark its nationality.

Flag: Six red stripes with five white stripes alternately displayed longitudinally. In the upper angle of the flag, next to the spear, a square blue ground, covering in depth five stripes. In the centre of the blue, one white star.

Seal: A dove on the wing, with an open scroll in its claws. A view of the ocean, with a ship under sail, the sun just emerging from the waters. A palm tree, and at its base a plough and spade. Beneath the emblems, the words REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA; and above the emblems, the national motto, THE LOVE OF LIBERTY BROUGHT US HERE.

The former seal of the commonwealth is ordered to be used until that for the republic shall be engraved.

By order of the convention:

S. BENEDICT, *President.*

## APPENDIX.

## A.

The revenue laws of the country contain the following sections:

SECTION 10. *It is further enacted*, That when the cost of leaf tobacco, purchased in the foreign market for the republic, shall be not more than three cents a pound, it shall be sold at an advance of one hundred and fifty per centum on the prime cost; when over three cents, and not more than four cents, it shall be sold at one hundred per centum advance; when over four, and not more than five, it shall be sold at an advance of sixty per centum; and when over five cents, it shall be sold at an advance of fifty per centum on the prime cost; common trade powder at an advance of fifty per centum on the prime cost; muskets, when the cost shall be less than two dollars, at fifty per centum—when more than two dollars, at forty; all other fire-arms at fifty per centum; crockery and earthenware at sixty per centum; and salt at sixteen dollars per ton of forty bushels.

SEC. 11. *It is further enacted*, That in two days after the arrival of the goods on behalf of the republic, mentioned in this act, or any portion thereof, the impost or tariff on the same species of commodities, imported into this republic for the account of any other party whatsoever, unless the same shall be excepted or modified by treaty, shall be as follows, namely: On leaf tobacco, when the cost shall not be more than four cents a pound, seventy-five per centum shall be charged; when over four cents, but less than five, sixty per centum shall be charged; and when over five cents, fifty per centum shall be charged; on muskets, thirty-three and a third per centum; on all other fire-arms, not costing more than three dollars each, thirty-three and a third per centum; on powder, thirty-three and a third per centum; on crockery and earthenware, thirty-three and a third per centum. The rates mentioned in the foregoing part of this section refer to direct importations. On the sales of any of the above-mentioned articles made by transient traders or vessels, thirty-three and a third per centum shall be assessed as the impost to be collected, excepting on salt; on which, in every case, shall be charged a duty of six dollars a ton of forty bushels.

*An act regulating commerce and revenue.*

ARTICLE 1: SEC. 5. *It is further enacted*, That each commission merchant shall pay a tax of fifteen dollars per annum, and each retailer shall pay a tax of twelve dollars per annum. It shall be unlawful for any citizen, or any other person, within this republic, to sell or barter any goods, merchandise, or vendible property, or transact business for any foreign importer, merchant, master, or supercargo, or owner, on commission, without first having obtained a commission merchant's license; nor shall any licensed commission merchant, as such, either by himself or another, deal, transact, or barter other than in the legal wholesale way.

SEC. 6. *It is further enacted*, That any person wishing to carry on the business of auctioneer, shall pay a tax of sixteen dollars per annum.

SEC. 7. *It is further enacted*, That no person shall sell ardent spirits, wines, (claret excepted,) and cordials, without first having obtained a

special license, for which shall be paid a tax of fifty dollars per annum. And further, that the penalty for selling spirits, wines, (claret excepted,) and cordials, without license, in this republic, shall be one hundred dollars, to be recovered by action of misdemeanor in any court of this republic having competent jurisdiction—one-fourth to go to the informer, and the other three-fourths to the use of this republic.

SEC. 13. *It is further enacted*, That on all ardent spirits, wines, (claret excepted,) and cordials landed in any port of this republic, there shall be collected a duty of twenty-five cents on each gallon; and all such articles shall be landed under the immediate observation of the collector or his deputy, and by him gauged, or the quantity otherwise ascertained on the spot, and the amount of duties thereon be paid before it goes out of the hands of the collector.

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## B.

ARTICLE 1: *Sec. 2. It is further enacted*, That all vessels hailing from ports and sailing under the flag of this republic are hereby prohibited from any and every species of intercourse with slavers at sea and elsewhere, and are forbidden to trade or hold any negotiation with them, under a penalty of one hundred dollars, and forfeiture of all the articles, or value of them, so traded for; and no such vessel as above mentioned shall purchase at sea from any vessel any goods, wares, or merchandise, and land them at any port or any factory which they may be licensed to keep within the limits of this republic, without accounting to the nearest port-officer for the amount of duties chargeable on said purchases, and paying the lawful tariff duties imposed on the articles, under the penalty hereafter affixed to smuggling in this republic.

SEC. 3. *It is further enacted*, That no citizen of this republic shall be permitted to act as agent for any person or persons engaged in the slave trade, under a penalty of being six months bound to hard labor in irons. And further, that no person resident within the jurisdiction of this republic shall enter into the employ or service of any slave-dealer, or any person in the remotest degree connected with him or them, under the penalty of indictment and fine of fifty dollars; and any person belonging to this republic being found on board any slave boat or vessel, or in the neighborhood of any slave-dealing establishment, shall be deemed accessory to their crime, and suffer the penalty as above. But should any citizen so implicated show that he or she was by accident or distress thrown into that situation, being satisfied of such fact, the President may admit the plea in pardon or extenuation; but should he or she fail to make good such representation, he or she shall suffer the penalty last above named.

ARTICLE 2: *Sec. 10. It is further enacted*, That no vessel engaged in the slave trade, or having connexion with the slave trade, shall be allowed to enter the ports of this republic; and no foreigner residing within the jurisdiction of this republic shall be allowed to have any connexion with the slave trade, or to act as agent for any slaver, under the penalty of being fined, on conviction thereof, in the sum of one hundred dollars for the first offence, and for the second offence imprisonment in the common jail for a period of not less than three months, nor longer than eighteen months.



## C.

“Those who have arrived this year require as much clear space as all who were there before them, and probably more, for they are better able to work, and have more means to work with. Like those who preceded them, they will be compelled to do everything with the axe, mattock, spade, and hoe, in the line of agriculture. They have brought excellent ploughs, harrows, and cultivators, every way suitable for the cultivation of the African soil. They have harnesses and trace-chains, but unfortunately there is not a horse in the county of Sinou; but a plenty of bullocks may be had from the natives, and the new-comers will, in all probability, break them into ploughs and wagons, and make them serve as horses and mules. It has been said that horses brought from America will not live and thrive in Liberia; but I doubt whether the question has ever been fairly tried. A small effort was once made to introduce doukeys from the Cape de Verde islands into Monrovia, which happened to fail, and a horse or two from Sierra Leone died there; but I doubt whether such unsuccessful attempts show that horses from America will not thrive in the fields on the African shore. The natives in the rear of Liberia—from fifty to a hundred miles back—have excellent horses; at least, so the shore natives, who have been there, say; and efforts are being made by the president at Monrovia to open communication enough with them to induce them to bring droves of their horses down, to the settlers. No doubt this will be accomplished; and then new-comers will find an easier mode of cultivation. Nor when their implements of husbandry are gone, will they want for more. The late arrival at Sinou brought all sorts of workers in wood and iron, able and ingenious mechanics, as well as farmers. The country affords the toughest sorts of wood and iron, not inferior to that of Pennsylvania and Tennessee. One of the emigrants, who arrived a few months ago, has nearly erected a two-story house for his family of seven or eight, who came by the last arrival, built entirely of African timber and plank, got out with pit-saws. It is a durable two-story house, well planned and made. The timber is similar to our oak, and the plank, which they call African poplar, is of a cherry color, and more like some of our pines. It is excellent building wood.

“The Sinou river, as far up as the falls, is, in some parts, twenty-four feet deep, and in no place is there less than ten to twelve feet. The falls are capable of affording abundance of water for mills of any description by cutting a canal, by which a fall may be secured of fifty to sixty feet, and sufficient water to be had at all seasons of the year; and at no season does it rise so high as to injure any such establishments. The country adjacent to these falls is heavily timbered, and the soil rich and fertile. The country gradually rises, and is reported to improve more and more the farther you ascend the river.”—*Journal of Mr. Harris, purser on board United States ship “Decatur.”*

## D.

In the year 1835, the declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported to the whole of Africa was £917,726.

The declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported to Africa in 1837 was £312,938, of which £101,104 was made up of the value of arms and ammunition, and lead and shot.

The estimated value of imports in 1834 into Great Britain was £456,014, (exclusive of gold dust, £260,000,) and consisted chiefly of palm oil, teak timber, gunis, ivory, bees-wax, and all extremely valuable and in great demand, but obtained at comparatively little labor and cost.

[Buxton.

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E.

“The more I reflect on the African slave trade, and on the subject of colonization, the more I am convinced that the only remedy for the former reposes in a liberal encouragement of the latter. I do not mean by colonization that new settlements shall be planted by us all along the coast as the best policy; and it were better, perhaps, to call it not colonization, but emigration from the United States to Africa, by the black population. Reinforce the Liberians, let the strangers be acclimated there and become citizens, and let the Liberians themselves make settlements beyond the limits of their territory, or rather acquire territory wherever they may wish to make them; this is the true method. However ample our means, we can do little or nothing without the civilized Africans. With a very little of our means, the African immigrants, backed by our support and countenance, may do everything. The first step, then, is to induce the free blacks to emigrate; and if they could be apprized of the advantages which invite them, and the wide field which is opened to them on the continent of their fathers, it would seem that they could have no greater inducement. A country which is clothed with evergreen, producing all the luxuries of the tropics in abundance, and without much cultivation, with a republican government, ornamented with flourishing churches and schools, and every opportunity to live with ease and independence, invites them to privileges and immunities, and to the enjoyment of social rights and blessings, which they can never know even in the most free of the United States, or in any other country. If they have property, let them take it with them, and it will prove like a grain of mustard-seed planted in season. If they have none, land will be given them on their arrival—their own land. And what is still more inviting, they will have inheritances for their children, not only in lands, but in a free country of their own—their native country, perhaps; at least the native country of their ancestors—and a rich inheritance in the form of an education, with the path to preferment and distinction clear and open before them.”

[Purser Harris's Journal.

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F.

*The Rev. J. Payne's account of the Grebo tribe, at Cape Palmas, extending thirty miles along the coast from the Cavalla to Fishtown river.*

The Greboes emigrated probably about one hundred and fifty years ago, to the territory now occupied by them, from the leeward coast. The

point of their debarkation was just below Grand Bereby. They lived a short distance from the coast, and constituted part of a tribe still living in that region, and known as the "Worebo." A crowded population appears to have led to the emigration.

The name *Grebo* is composed of *Gre* and *bo*. The latter designates a class, (e. g. *degû*, a doctor; *degû-bo*, doctors.) The former, "*Gre*," is the name of a species of monkey which leap with remarkable agility. In getting off from the shore at the time of emigration, it appears that many canoes were capsized. The Grebo word for capsize is *wore*, and hence those who capsized and remained were called *worebo*. Those who were successful in embarking—leaping over the waves like the "*Gre*," were styled *Grebo*.

The Greboes, proceeding up the coast in their canoes, landed at different points as they became tired; and where they found water, formed small settlements. The coast at that time appears to have been uninhabited; only at Cape Palmas, tradition relates that a small settlement of whites was found. These were probably Portuguese and slave traders. The first settlements of the Greboes in this region were not permanent. They proceeded at different times up the coast until they reached Grand Sestres, where contact with other tribes, and a partial accession from them, produced a modification of the language and of the tribe. At length, directed by an oracle, the scattered settlements of the Greboes retraced their steps to the leeward. The great body proceeded at once and settled at Cape Palmas; although subsequently considerable numbers followed, and became engrafted into the tribe. From Cape Palmas, (Berina See,) Rocktown (Tasch) was colonized; and subsequently, after considerable intervals, Grahwah (Blege) and the river Cavalla towns (Wattah and Koblah.) Again, from Rocktown were colonized Middleton, (Lede,) Fish-town, (Wah,) and Half Cavalla, (Bwêde.) The names here given are those of the seven principal Grebo towns, having an aggregate population of about twenty-five thousand.

The *constitution* of the Grebo tribe is patriarchal, although the government is almost purely democratic. There are in it twelve families, as in the case of the ancient people of God, deriving their names, probably, from the emigrant patriarch or father. Their appellatives are Nyâmbo, Grêbo, &c. In nearly every one of the Grebo settlements above enumerated, there are parts of these families, having in each case their distinct head man or patriarch. This patriarch usually occupies a particular portion of the town, with his sons, grandsons, and relatives around him. The male members of these, deposit with the patriarch a portion of the money which they accumulate, and the latter in return pays the betrothment money (about \$20) for their wives, as well as the fines and expenses, from any source, to which they may be liable.

Besides these duties to their relatives with whom they are connected, the patriarchs collectively constitute an upper court or senate in the body politic. To this body belongs the right of originating plans for promoting the public weal; to them are referred questions involving international rights and relations in the premises, and by them claims growing out of such relations are met. Indeed in all matters of grave interest, whether domestic or foreign, the voice of the patriarchs must be heard.

But the most influential class in every Grebo community is the Sedibo. This is most emphatically "the house of representatives," the *popular*

house, for it is composed of all males beyond the age of 18 to 20, except the patriarchs. Usually, as soon as a young man is married and has a house, he pays into the treasury of the "Sedibo" a bullock, goat, half bushel of rice, and thenceforth, unless convicted of witchcraft, is entitled to all the rights and privileges of the Sedibo. These are by no means inconsiderable. They combine the legislative and the executive powers; for although the patriarchs may originate and advise, the Sedibo—the people in lawful assembly—must discuss and resolve, before any action can be had or law passed, and they meet and make laws at any time, and in relation to almost anything. They meet and decide that a man has stolen something, and for the offence make him pay a fowl, or all that he possesses, according to their temper towards him. They determine that a certain man has been guilty of witchcraft, and give him *gëdu* (sassy-wood) and kill him. The fines imposed by this body are *divided according to hereditary right*. Thus, for example, if a bullock is slaughtered, (fines are almost always paid in something to eat,) one man by hereditary right takes the *shoulder*, another the *neck*, &c. These rights owe their origin to the same causes as the titles in Europe. They were given to ancestors for some services rendered, or by some powerful prince, and have thence come down in lineal descent to posterity.

The same principle prevails in respect to offices, of which there are four principal ones in every Grebo community. These are the Woraba, Bodia, Ibadia, and Tëbawa. The former two are taken from the class of "Nyekbade" or patriarchs—the latter from the Sedibo.

The *Woraba* (literally town's father) is the oldest or most influential patriarch, lineally descended from the founder of the town. In the assembly of the patriarchs he takes precedence of all others, and has the largest share of all the perquisites of this body.

The *Bodiä* appertains to one family; but this is by appointment of an ancient oracle. The Bodiä, and, in fact, the other two offices of which I am to speak, though belonging to particular families, are only conferred upon those designated by some oracle consulted in reference to the appointment. The Bodiä, more than anything else, resembles the office of high priest among the Jews. The individual having been designated who is to fill the office, on an appointed day he is installed by a long ceremony, too tedious to describe. The leading features are, a sacrifice of a goat to the Kur, (demons and departed spirits,) the blood of which is *sprinkled* around and inside the door posts of the Bodiä's house. The Bodiä is shaven, clad in a new garment, has a tiger's tooth tied around his head, (this is a common ornament of gentlemen,) has a monkey's skin prepared to be placed always beneath him when he sits, and *he is anointed*. The house in which he lives is called, from this circumstance, the *Te-kai*, (the anointed house.) During the ceremony, the patriarchs of the several families, in order, give the Bodiä elect their respective charges. In substance these are: "Let trade be active; cause the earth to bring forth abundantly; let health prevail; drive war far away; let witchcraft be kept in abeyance," &c. Poor man! he has a load put upon him, which it is not wonderful can be borne only a short time. During his continuance in office he resides in the *Te-kai*, a house built by all the people. He keeps the public greegrees and idols, and *feeds them* with rice and oil *every new moon*. In making sacrifices for the town to departed friends and demons, he officiates as high priest. He cannot sleep in any other

house in town but his own; he may not drink water on the highway; he may not eat while a corpse is in town; he must *not mourn for the dead*; he must not sit on the same bench. If he dies while in office (the ring put on his ankle, at his inauguration, having been previously taken off and placed on that of some member of his family) he must be buried in the stillness of the night; none but the most important public functionaries hearing of it, and none mourning for him when his death is made public. All Grebo Bodias, too, must be buried on the island off Cape Palmas, if they have died a natural death. If they have been killed by *gēdu*, (sassy-wood,) they must be buried beneath a running stream of water.

The *nominal power* of the Bodia is very great, as he has a veto on all questions brought before the people; but in practice is very limited, for he dares not act contrary to the popular will, which he is, therefore, very careful to ascertain. In truth, of all offices that of the Bodia is most comfortless. This arises from the superstitious notions and expectations connected with the office. It has been before stated, that, at his inauguration, he is charged with matters which God alone controls—*with Providence*. It follows that whenever adversity of any kind befalls the country, the Bodia is held responsible for it—"he has made witch"—this is the solution, and many a poor incumbent has paid the penalty with his life. It is no wonder that this highest office in the people's gift is far from being desired, and that in the most instances, when the oracle has designated the individual, they have almost to "take him by force and make him king." The two remaining offices, *Tibawa* and *Ibadia*, appertain to the Sedibo, and on a vacancy occurring, are filled in the same manner as that of Bodia. These, too, are hereditary in families. In the assembly of the Sedibo, their assent must be obtained to any measure before it can be carried into effect; though, as in the case of the Bodia, this assent is rather the expression of the popular will than the guide of it. The most important duties of these officers devolve upon them in time of war. Then the *Ibadia* must always *lead*; and in case of retreat or defeat, the latter must always bring up the rear, or cover the retreat. They are consequently posts of the greatest danger. In reward for their services they have, by hereditary right, a large share of all perquisites of the Sedibo.

The third class into which every Grebo community is divided is the *Kedibo*. This is composed of youths and boys between the ages of 18 and 11 to 12. A small initiation fee admits any one of initiable age to this class. They have a treasury, a kind of head, usually selected from among the elder Sedibo, to take care of their property. They have meetings, at which they discuss subjects of which they have the control, but are subject to the direction of the Sedibo in all important matters.

The *Kimbo* includes children from 6 to 11 years of age. Theirs is a separate organization, although their rights and privileges are of more limited character. Their chief perquisites are those obtained for their collective services in busy seasons. But it is wonderful to witness the stormy debates of this little society, as well as amusing to see them punishing each other for real or alleged offences, by *putting pepper in their eyes*, beating them, &c.

There is a curious secret association or society to be found in every Grebo community, styled *Kwi-iru*, or "children of departed spirits." Although it is attempted to keep everything connected with this association concealed, it is known to be composed of persons of almost all ages in the com-

mutuality, except children. They have a "father," as he is called, but he is never visible or known except to members of the society. When, as is rarely the case, the "Kwi-iru" appear in the day, the "father" is always so masked as to be perfectly disguised. The night, however, is the usual time for this strange association to go abroad; often at midnight, on the outskirts of the town, or in the adjoining bush, a sudden, discordant shrieking, whistling, yelling, hideous noise bursts forth, as if scores of spirits had been let loose from the lower world, and as if their object was to frighten man from the earth. In a tumultuous body they run around and through the town. Women and children fly affrighted into their houses and close them up, for a heavy fine would be the penalty of their seeing and being seen by the mysterious visitors. If in their wild revelings they fancy to want anything from any one, they surround his house and there remain yelling, dancing, screaming, and threatening until their demand is granted.

The avowed object of the association is to seek and to punish *witches* and *wizards*. These are said to be particularly active in practising their arts at night. They strip themselves naked and go to the houses of those whose lives they seek; and especially is it their delight to visit and dance on the graves of those whom they have succeeded in killing by their enchantments. Wo, then, be to the man or woman who is seen walking around or through the towns in the night! The Kwi-iru pounce upon them, carry them to a house prepared for the purpose, put them in the top of it, where they are smoked until next day about 10 o'clock, or the usual time for subjecting them to the universal African test, "gëdu," or sassy-wood. Early in the morning, an official of the Kwi-iru is despatched to the forest to get the bark of the gëdu tree. This arrived, the accused person is taken by the Kwi-iru to the field; there, in the presence of the assembled town's people, to be subjected to the test. The officer of the body beats the bark in a mortar, pours water into it, then turns it out in a wooden bowl, and calls for the accused to come forward and drink. Holding the bowl in his hand, he looks towards the east, and says, in substance: "Oh, God! oh, God! oh, God! oh, God! I invoke thee four times! If this person be innocent, cause him to vomit this gëdu and escape. If he be guilty, may it kill him." The accused takes the bowl and repeats the same words. He then takes the potion. Immediately after doing this he starts to town, escorted by one or more members of the Kwi-iru, and followed by the multitude. The former, after reaching town, keep near the accused, and force him to walk incessantly until it is ascertained that the gëdu does not affect him, or he falls down suddenly dead, a victim to the poison. As soon as this takes place, a fiendish shout rends the air: "The witch is found—he is killed." Tied by the feet, the dead body is dragged out on the beach, where it lies for some hours exposed to the insults of the populace. Before the relations are permitted to bury it, they must purchase it from the Kwi-iru for a bullock, or something equivalent.

The Kwi-iru, as a kind of police, are often employed by the Sedibo to administer gëdu, in cases where persons are accused of witchcraft, either by them or by the Deyäbo.

This last word, *Deyäbo*, designates the most remarkable class among the Greboes. They are the life and soul of their superstitions. They are commonly called in English, *doctors* or *devil men*. Neither term, however,

conveys a correct impression. They are possessed, or suppose themselves possessed, by a "Ku," demon or spirit, under whose inspiration they act and give their responses. They, in fact, do exhibit the peculiarities of those mentioned in Scripture as "possessed." They are "thrown down on the ground," they "gnash with their teeth," they appear dead while they utter strange unearthly words, "they pine away." Whenever any of the above marks appear in an individual, he is said to be "possessed," and is at once placed with an old "Deyā" to be instructed in the arts and mysteries of the profession. The noviciate lasts from one to three days, according to circumstances. During this time, the candidate wears no other covering than some grass tied with a cord around the loins. He does not wash. He has no connexion with his wife: sleeps apart, eats apart, &c. When the instructing Deyā is satisfied with his proficiency, and the candidate's family get a bullock ready to pay for his education, a day is appointed for inducting him into office. This is quite a long ceremony. The principal features only will be here given. The test of the reality of his possession is very singular. A fowl or duck is killed, and the head cut off; some of the blood of this is put on the candidate's eyes, and the head is then taken away and thrown into the bushes. The candidate is now sent to find it. If he succeeds, his possession is real; if not, he is deceived. The latter case, however, seldom occurs, as good care is taken that the head shall be found, and the candidate is escorted by his relatives (usually on the back of one of them) to the place of ceremony. There he is divested of his filthy hair and habiliments; is clothed in the usual dress of his class, furnished with a stock of greegrees and charms, and taken home by his relatives.

Established at home, he is a most wonderful character. Under the inspiration of his demon there is nothing which he cannot find out—nothing which he cannot do. Distance is annihilated. From hundreds of miles the secrets of hearts are known and revealed. Hidden acts of witchcraft are brought to light. The potent spells and charms of the Deyā control winds, rain, pestilence, health, wealth, life and death. There is no good sought nor ill deprecated for which he does not at once provide specific greegree. But it is especially in reference to witchcraft that the powers of the Deyābo are invoked and exercised. This is *the* great evil of the country—the one most practised—the most feared. To guard against this, the Deyābo make charms for the persons of individuals, for their houses, for the town, for the country. By consulting their demons they are supposed to be able at once to designate the witch or wizard in any particular case, and the word of a Deyā is taken, ordinarily, as sufficient proof that the party accused is guilty, or rather as sufficient ground for subjecting him to trial by gēdu. This fact, in connexion with the popular belief that death, in all cases—except those of infants and very aged men—is caused by witchcraft, causes a general fear through the whole community whenever one dies; for *any one in town* is liable to be arrested at any moment, and subjected to the dread ordeal of gēdu upon the mere ipse dixit of a Deyā.

There is one singular—and I may add hopeful—feature connected with this, at first sight most preposterous and wicked system. When the Deyā has consulted his demon and prepared his charms, it is common with him to say, "Now, nyena ba wenh, (if God wills,) this will accomplish the good

you seek, but not otherwise." Indeed, the intelligent Greboes contend that the whole system of the Deyābo is by *appointment of God*. The Deyā is their means of access to God: the Deyā, speaking by his demon, *conveys the voice of God*.

Such is the most intelligent view of the system of the Greboes' superstition. But it contains within itself the elements of its own destruction: for the Greboes believe that God is *holy and true*; but the Deyābo, they know by experience, *are all vicious, and all speak lies*. It is not wonderful, therefore, that, in the light of the Gospel, the system is losing its hold, and the Deyābo their influence upon the people.

The *moral character* of the Greboes is substantially that given in the first chapter of Romans—that of man everywhere left to himself. But it is surprising, in their case, to see how much that is outwardly good and pleasant can coexist with the inwardly corrupt, and, indeed, how the latter contributes to the manifestation of the former. It has been stated that witchcraft (by which is meant the accomplishing of any object by magical preparations) is generally practised. The people are also, of course, all *vengeful*, and witchcraft affords the means of revenging themselves; and as all are conscious of *evil, all fear evil*; and this fear is the chief cause of the great courtesy which really characterizes the Greboes in their intercourse with each other.

The *physical character* of the Greboes is not inferior to that of any tribe on the west coast of Africa. This may be readily inferred from the fact that they are eagerly sought by vessels of war, as well as by traders. The class known on the coast as Kroomen, (Croomen, or Crewmen,) are, in fact, a large portion of them, Cape Palmas or Grebo people. A great many of them are to be found in Sierra Leone, and, indeed, in many of the foreign settlements from Sierra Leone to the Gaboon river.

Their *intellectual character* corresponds with the physical. In our schools the children learn rapidly. In the meetings and councils of the Sedibo and people, which I have attended, I have been struck with the order, decorum, and mental acumen displayed. In grave assemblies each man has his place and his time to speak; when this arrives, he stands up, usually holds a long staff in his hand, and asks attention by saying "bateo," (attend all;) the assembly responds "bate," (we attend;) after he has finished, the next in order takes the staff, and proceeds in like manner. And in examining evidence they are most thorough; and keen, indeed, must be the foreign casuist who can get the advantage of them on matters coming within the range of their knowledge and experience.

The geographical position of the Greboes, in connexion with their physical and intellectual character, affords ground to hope that they are destined to be instruments of extreme good amongst the numerous tribes in their vicinity. They are situated at the mouth of the Cavalla river, navigable for canoes and boats about seventy miles, and having on its banks some twelve tribes. With these tribes the Greboes have daily intercourse, and they speak dialects so nearly alike that they are readily understood by each other. It is probable, too, that books published in Grebo will be understood by all these tribes. Hence it follows, that to Christianize the Greboes will be at once to diffuse its blessings throughout these tribes.

The *Episcopal Mission* in West Africa is established in the Grebo tribe. It embraces at present three principal and one sub-station. A



fourth principal station will be opened during the year at Rocktown. Those at present in operation are: Mount Vaughan, Fishtown, Cavalla, and River Cavalla.

*Mt. Vaughan station* is within the immediate settlement of the colony, and is wholly colonial in its character. Here are a female day school, in which upwards of fifty children receive instruction, and a high school in embryo, having in it fifteen boys. This will be made a boarding school in part at the beginning of next year, being designed to train up teachers and ministers.

In connexion with this station is a chapel for the accommodation of the Colonist congregation; for whose benefit a stone church, St. Mark's, is in process of erection. The number of communicants here is twenty-two.

*Fishtown station*, under the superintendence of Rev. Jacob Rambo, is twelve miles from Cape Palmas. It is in the immediate vicinity of a native population of 3,500, with many villages near. In the boarding school of native boys and girls, there are twenty-five children. A comfortable chapel has been erected, in which, as well as in the villages around, stated services are held. There are at this station twelve communicants. A hand printing press is also now in operation there.

*Cavalla station*, under care of Rev. J. Payne, is ten miles from Cape Palmas to leeward, as Fishtown is to the windward. There is a population (native) about the same as at Fishtown, with a larger within a few miles distance. In a chapel, built of native materials, in the middle of a native town, regular services are held, the average attendance being two hundred. Services are also held in many villages around. In the male and female boarding schools connected with the station, are sixty-three pupils. The number of communicants thirty-seven.

*River Cavalla* is an *out station* of Cavalla, where there is a boarding school containing ten children. By the missionaries the gospel is preached in some twenty-five native towns and villages, besides the colony. Summary: 3 principal and 1 out-station; missionaries and their wives, 6; teachers, colonist and native, 13; pupils, colonist and native, 165; communicants, colonist and native, 71.

The language has been reduced to writing, and Genesis, the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and Acts, translated, besides smaller books published in the language.

J. PAYNE.

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## G.

### *Report of the Kroo people, by Rev. Mr. Connelly.*

I have lived five years and one month in Settra Kroo, as a missionary. I will speak first of the country and climate; then of the people and of the success of the mission. As to the land, I have lived upon the beach, but travelled as far as fifty miles back into the interior. The land is neither rich nor poor; but it is all good and very fruitful. It has a little inclination to be gravelly and soft. The face of the earth, with a little exception, is covered with a jungle thicker than the swamps in the United States. It is also plentifully interspersed with large trees, and

pleasantly variegated with hills and valleys. There is scarcely a tree, shrub, or herb, such as is found in the United States.

The chief productions of the country for food are cassada and rice; also cabbage and sweet potatoes. The animals are bullocks, sheep, and goats. The chief fruits are pineapples, oranges, cocoanuts, lemons, plantains, bannanas, papaws, and guavas. The chief articles of commerce are palm-oil, cane-wood, rice, and ivory. In the rainy season (our summer in America) the mercury stands at about seventy-eight, and in the dry season (our winter in America) at about eighty-six.

If the land was cleared and cultivated, I think the country would be as healthy as any other portion of the globe. The natives are as healthy as our colored people in America, and subject to fewer diseases. People from the United States are not so healthy as the natives, and especially white men. All foreigners, having to undergo acclimation, necessarily suffer in their constitutions.

I am far from thinking that this acclimation is not morally a benefit to the emigrants, and to the republic; because it tends to civilize the newly emancipated. Some three generations back—say two hundred or two hundred and fifty years—some of the bush people, between two and three hundred miles in the interior, a people called *Claho*, came to the beach, (several of these men having followed the Poor river, and learned on the beach the value of salt,) and first commenced a settlement at Bassa, and subsequently removed to Little Kroo, very near Setra Kroo. Several of the tribes from the interior, with their several kings, came and united with them and consolidated themselves under one government, embracing five towns, called Little Kroo, Setra Kroo, Kroo-bar, Nana-Kroo, King Will's Town. Long ago, in the time of the Portuguese slave-trade, these people assisted slave vessels; and there is said by them to have been a compact or agreement, between them and the Portuguese and other slave-traders, that they should be exempt from slavery, and should be known by a black mark upon the forehead and nose, which is still universal among them, as well as their freedom from slavery, (they never making slaves of one another;) and their name, Kroomen, is said to be but a corruption of the title of Crewmen, because of their general employment among vessels visiting the African coast. Among the people polygamy exists extensively, and slavery to some extent—though these slaves are bought only from other tribes, and are never sold to foreigners, or to any persons out of their own tribe. Their houses are built of a square form, and of sticks covered with bamboo plaited, and the roof of leaf thatch; and the floor is of plaited bamboo, raised eighteen inches on sticks, and the door and the loft above are not sufficiently high to permit an adult to enter standing. There are generally three rooms in each house, separated by partitions of plaited bamboo. The fire-place is made principally of hard clay, near one corner of the house, where is the only window, which serves both to admit light and open a passage for the smoke. The smoke penetrates the interstices of the loft above, and preserves the rice, which would otherwise be destroyed by insects.

Their furniture consists mostly of a few cooking utensils; their floor answers for bed, table, and chairs, and their pillow is a round stick of wood. Their dress is a piece of cloth wrapped about the loins. Their devotions are a superstitious gazing on the new moon, and a feast on the first day of the moon among the headmen, and devotional walks in a

thicket called the *devil's bush*. They depend on amulets or greegrees for protection and defence. These are purchased from the greegree doctors for different sums of money, according to the purposes for which they are designed. These amulets are sheep horns, or small pockets, filled with herbs and palm oil and dirt, made by the doctor or conjuror. These doctors are a distinct class of men who come into the profession hereditarily, the heads of the families teaching their children their craft. The children destined to this profession enter early upon these studies under some doctor—sometimes as early as seven or eight years, and are distinguished by a peculiar straw dress.

These doctors profess a knowledge of herbs and roots, and to have the means of curing diseases, and are called to relieve the sick and afflicted. But their greatest reputation is derived from their imagined supernatural knowledge.

The Kroo people consider death and sickness as caused by witchcraft, and they employ and rely upon the doctors to point out the person who has by witchcraft caused these evils. The person who is designated as guilty of the crime of witchcraft is arrested by the soldier king, and condemned to the ordeal of sassy-wood. The bark of the sassy-wood is powerfully narcotic, and a strong decoction of this the person condemned is forced to drink; and after he has drank it, he walks to and fro, exclaiming "Am I a witch," "am I a witch?" while one of his executioners walks behind him replying "You are a witch, you are a witch;" and this continues until he either throws off from his stomach the poison, when he is pronounced innocent, or it operates as a cathartic, when he is declared guilty, and compelled to take more of the decoction, and is subjected to other cruelties, which cause his speedy death. When pronounced innocent, there is great joy and triumph among the friends of the accused, who march through the town dancing, singing, and firing guns, and the conjuror resigns his fee to those who employed him. These shocking scenes of the ordeal by sassy-wood were of almost daily occurrence in former times, but have been much less frequent, say three or four times a year, since the establishment of a mission among them. Sometimes this sassy-wood is used to decide questions between individuals, and they voluntarily drink it to prove and settle some disputed points. This ordeal by sassy-wood is one of the most prevalent and cruel of African superstitions, and is practised among nearly if not all the tribes of Africa. We presume that thousands of the Africans perish by this sassy-wood superstition annually.

The government, in the tribes which united to form the Kroo people, was probably at first patriarchal, but at present it is a self-perpetuating oligarchy, though one of the headmen has the title of king, and another that of governor.

The headmen or aristocracy are about a dozen or fifteen, and wear as a badge of authority an iron ring about the leg. The king has his office hereditarily, and the governor's office is secured to his family for past services rendered by his ancestors in conquering the country. The soldier king is elected for an indefinite time by the headmen, and is general and the officer commanding in war, and arresting and executing those condemned to drink the sassy-wood. This office is desired, as this officer is entitled to a liberal fee for any arrest or service. Besides these officers and their assistants, there are six or eight headmen, who are called pala-

ver men, who, with those just mentioned, constitute the general council of the nation.

Each tribe uniting to form the Kroo people brought its own king, and the families of these come to the office of king in succession. The laws of the Kroo people are a body of customs handed down by tradition from past generations, interpreted and enforced by the general council, who also enact occasional special laws, which are generally suggested or dictated by the doctor or conjuror. The laws are imperfect, inconsistent, and unfair. If one man loses anything, and accuses another of having stolen it, the accused is required to drink sassy-wood to prove his innocence. The ordeal of sassy-wood is therefore made a penalty for almost all crimes, and exerts a powerful restraining influence on the community. When the sassy-wood so affects the accused as to condemn him, the friends of the accused may buy him off from death for different sums of money, according to the wealth of the family of the accused. The reason why so few are saved is because of the poverty of the friends of the accused, and because, if once rescued, the accused is exposed to be re-accused for any trifling offence. The ordeal of sassy wood is frequently made to decide points of honor, precisely like the custom of duelling in the United States.

The leading motives of the Kroo people are sensuality and vanity. The men employed by vessels on the coast, and by traders as factors on shore, are industrious, but on the plantations and in their towns the men are idle, and the women perform most of the labor. The men build the houses and clear the plantations, but the women plant, watch, cultivate, gather and beat the rice, and also cut and bring the wood, and perform all the labor about the houses. The women seldom eat with the men, except a man's head or favorite wife, who superintends the cooking, and first tastes the food before he partakes.

The system of polygamy gives rise to jealousies and quarrels among the women. All lawful wives are purchased when children, and when they arrive at a suitable age, are taken to their husbands. Besides these, there is a class of women who go and live with any man they choose, and leave him for any other, at pleasure. When one or more of these leave a man, and run to another, the one to whom they resort fires guns, and his lawful wives rejoice with him, because they regard it as adding importance to their husband, and relieving them from a portion of their labor. There appears to be a strong affection between parents and children, and brothers and sisters; but polygamy doubtless lessens the affection between husbands and wives. They are passionate, but cowardly; fond of war and hunting, but have little skill in either. When specially intrusted with property, they may be expected to be faithful; but if (in most cases) they can slyly steal, they will do it; and in case one of their number informs against the thief, it is the law that the informer should pay for the stolen property.

The Kroo women—especially those who are old and incapable of other labor—are constantly and industriously engaged in making salt by boiling down sea-water; and this is a principal article of trade with the interior tribes. The leading men of families have young men, (though these may be thirty or forty years old,) who are under their counsel and authority, as wards under guardians. These young men go abroad to different parts of the coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Coast, or even to Fernando

Po—each group of ten or a dozen choosing one as a leader, who makes engagements for them; and, after securing as much money for them as possible by labor from six months to two or three years, they return home, when the property thus acquired is distributed among the families of these young men, according to the discretion of the guardian, who is expected to buy a wife for each of these youths whenever he deems their labors sufficient to merit one. A man's importance among the Kroos depends much upon the number of his wives and bullocks—these being the chief property of the country.

The Presbyterian mission among the Kroos is about eight years old. It was commenced under the direction of the Presbyterian board of missions, by the Rev. O. R. Canfield, who died before the mission-house was finished. Mr. Canfield was succeeded by the Rev. R. W. Sawyer, who labored in the cause of the mission for two years. He then fell a victim to fever, when his widow conducted the affairs of the mission, assisted in its temporal matters by Doctor Day, for one year. She was then united in marriage to the Rev. James M. Connelly; and for the last five years they have continued their efforts in the mission.

In connexion with the mission there has always been a boarding-school, where children were fed, clothed, and taught gratuitously. For three years this school averaged about sixty scholars; and for the last five years it has been on the decline, having on an average about twenty-five. In this school there have been about three hundred children taught to read intelligibly, many to write, and all instructed in the doctrines of the Christian religion; a few have studied some of the sciences, and many more have only learned to spell, while some could only be kept in school to get a knowledge of the alphabet. Our first and last lesson to all these children has been to teach them their responsibility to God as the Creator of the world, the necessity of faith in His Son, our Redeemer, and of the influence of the Holy Spirit to regenerate the heart.

In connexion with the boarding-school we have kept up a Sabbath-school, and occasional night and day schools, at different places; and the Gospel has been constantly preached on the Sabbath. The children of the Kroos generally learn to read and write in the course of four or six months, and appear to acquire knowledge as readily as children in the United States.

The Kroo people (and the Africans generally, that we have observed) appear to have as good natural talents as other people. In regard to the influence of the mission, we are assured that it has exerted a powerful influence to restrain from vice, and cause those who cherished to seek to hide it; but we are not sure that any have become truly pious, though we trust the seed of Divine Truth, planted among the Kroos by this mission, will finally show great and beneficial results.

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## H.

*Extracts from the report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the best means which Great Britain can adopt for the final extinction of the African slave trade: 1849.—From minutes of evidence before the committee.*

*Testimony of Captain H. J. Matson, R. N.*—Speaking of health, has not the station, from various causes, recently been a much more healthy sta-

tion than it was, from the precautions that have been taken, and the orders that have been sent to the officers? Is there not less mortality upon that station than there used to be?

I think so; that may be attributed to two causes: partly the better regulations, and partly that the climate has certainly been more salubrious. I recollect lately reading an annual statement of the Church Missionary Society, and there they stated that, although in former years their missionaries died in great numbers, during the last seven years they have not to regret the loss of a single missionary. The measures which have been adopted on the coast of Africa have done a great deal of good; the regulations respecting prize crews are better than formerly; but the improved state of health, I think, cannot be entirely attributed to these measures, any more than may the health of the missionaries.

May the superior healthiness of the squadron of late years be attributed to the distance at which they have sailed from the coast?

No; two miles is as good as twenty.

May not a great deal of it be attributed to forbidding the men from going on shore, or sleeping in boats, or landing in rivers?

It is very prejudicial to health going up rivers, particularly if you remain for any length of time; but boat-service I see no objection to.

But going up the rivers is very injurious?

Generally speaking it is; but I have passed many days and nights in them, and my health did not suffer, neither did that of my crew.

And sleeping on shore?

Sleeping on shore is often fatal.

That is now absolutely prohibited?

Yes; it always was.

Are you able, from your knowledge of the coast, to tell the committee what, in your opinion, would be the effect of withdrawing the English squadron, first upon the slave trade?

I believe that not only Brazilians, but Englishmen themselves, would engage in the slave trade.

The committee are to understand that you think it would lead to a great increase of the slave trade?

I have no doubt in the world of it.

Can you tell the committee whether you think it would lead to a great deal more humanity in the treatment of slaves in the course of their passage?

I think it is very doubtful whether it would be more or less. They would be as crowded as they are now, and as they were before, but the mortality, I think, in Brazil, would increase. I think that if the slave trade were unrestricted, the life of a slave, in Brazil, would scarcely be worth a year's purchase.

You do not attribute the crowding of the vessels to the cruising of the squadron?

No.

Will you state to the committee why you do not?

I know that when the slave trade was legal, they crowded the vessels as much as they possibly could, and they employed a worse class of vessels than they do now; they were much longer making their passage; they employed very deep vessels, with very deep holds, and at the bottom of the hold was the principal slave-deck; round the sides of the vessel there

were generally two platforms that went all round the interior of the vessel. The air could only be admitted down the centre; it was a kind of three slave decks. Now, although they are still crowded as much as they can be, they have only one deck.

Is that because the vessels are smaller?

They are obliged to have vessels that sail better.

*Testimony of R. Danson, esq.*—Has there been a great increase in the palm-oil trade since you have been on the coast of Africa?

There has; from 2,000 tons up to 20,000 in the article of palm oil.

At an early period of your acquaintance with the coast of Africa, did the slave trade flourish to a great extent in the Bonny?

To a very great extent.

Will you mention how many slave vessels you have seen there at the same time?

I have seen seventeen slave vessels in the Bonny at one time—some of them very large vessels.

In what year would that be?

I think it would be in 1830?

Can you tell the committee how many natives at that time traded in palm oil?

Not more than ten or twelve.

Can you tell how many dealt at that time in slaves?

I should say one hundred.

What is the state of the palm-oil trade now in the river Bonny?

It is the only trade that the natives have now in the Bonny.

Will you tell the committee whether these who were at that time slave-traders, are now engaged actively in the palm oil trade?

They are, without a single exception.

So that in the Bonny the palm-oil trade has been substituted for the slave trade?

Yes, it has.

Would that substitution have taken place if the slave trade had not been repressed by the English cruisers?

It would not.

What, in your judgment, would be the effect upon the trade if the cruisers were to be entirely withdrawn?

The slave trade would revive, to the detriment of the legitimate trade—in fact, almost to the exclusion of the legitimate trade, I should say.

From your knowledge of the coast of Africa and of the habits of the people, will you tell the committee whether you think that, by suppressing the slave trade in like manner at other posts, the legitimate trade might be gradually nourished?

I think so.

*Testimony of J. Macqueen, esq.*—Would not the withdrawal of the squadron tend to introduce a multitude of British adventurers with small capital into that trade?

Certainly, British and all other adventurers. If our squadron were withdrawn, it would be the signal for one of the most hideous scenes that it is possible to conceive. In reference to Africa, in reference to all our West India colonies in particular, and all our tropical possessions, I look upon it that it would be utter ruin, inasmuch as there would be no limits whatever to the exportation of Africans to Cuba, Brazil, and Porto Rico, as

slaves. The consequence would be, a vastly increased production of sugar, which would not merely destroy our old tropical colonies, but crush the rising energies of the cultivation of sugar and coffee in India. I look upon it as one of the most destructive things which could be done.

In spite of this great competition upon the coast, would not there still be left a very large profit for those who engaged in it?

A very large profit. They would purchase them so very cheaply, and carry them at no risk, that they could afford to sell them at half the price they sell them for now, obtaining very large profits, and that would give a prodigious impulse to the extension of sugar and coffee cultivation.

Putting out of sight that competition, do not the demoralized habits which attend the slave trade also prove fatal to any legal trade?

Decidedly; it produces the greatest possible immorality, and the greatest possible want of security; it paralyzes all energies of every description which are legitimate and honest; and it is quite impossible while it continues that you ever can extend civilization and instruction in Africa; and unless you can extend those things, and unless you can extend agriculture in Africa, you can never hope for any great extension of legitimate trade. Africa has always had trade; the trade she has now, to a certain extent, she has had for 3,000 years; but everything which is engaged in that trade, is for the purpose ultimately of buying men.

Is not Africa capable of producing to almost any amount the goods which would form a means of great legal traffic?

To an unbounded extent.

Can you state to the committee any facts which you have ascertained upon that point?

There is scarcely any tropical production known in the world that does not thrive to perfection in Africa. There are many productions which are peculiarly her own; her dye-stuffs and dye-woods are superior to any which are known in any other quarter of the world, inasmuch as they resist both acid and light—things which we know no other dye stuffs from any other part of the world can resist. Then there is the article of sugar; that can be produced in every part of Africa to an unlimited extent. There is cotton, also, above all things; there is no country in the world which can produce such an immense quantity of cotton of a quality so fine; it is finer cotton than any description of cotton we know of in the world; common cotton in Africa I have seen and had in my possession, which was equal to the finest quality of American cotton.

Is that the case with Egyptian cotton?

Egyptian cotton is not so good as the cotton away to the south; but the cotton produced in the southern parts of Africa and in other parts of Africa is peculiarly fine. Africa is a most extraordinary country. In the eastern horn of Africa, which you would think to be a desolate wilderness, there is the finest country and the finest climate that I know. I know of none in South America equal to the climate of the country in the northeastern horn of Africa; it is a very elevated country, and on the upper regions you have all the fruits and flowers and grain of Europe growing; and in the valleys you have the finest fruits of the torrid zone. The whole country is covered with myrrh and frankincense; it is covered with flocks and herds; it produces abundance of the finest grain. Near Brava, for example, on the river Webbe, you can purchase as much fine wheat for a dollar as will serve a man for a year. All kinds of Eu-



ropean grain thrive there. In Enavea and Kaffa the whole country is covered with coffee; it is the original country of the coffee; you can purchase an ass-load (200 pounds) of coffee in the berry for about a dollar; the greater portion of the coffee that we receive from Mocha is actually African coffee, produced in that part.

Is any inducement necessary to promote the cultivation of those valuable materials of foreign trade, beyond the certainty of a market, where it might be exchanged for our manufactures?

There is no obstacle whatever, except the disturbance which the slave trade everywhere creates.

Would not the same arbitrary power, which is now exercised in obtaining slaves, be just as easily used in compelling them to work, if that work should be found more profitable?

That has been my opinion always. It would be the simplest thing in the world to show and to convince those African chiefs that it would be more for their interest to cultivate the soil, and sell their produce, than to sell their people. A remarkable instance of that took place with the great chief of Bornou, to whom Clapperton and Denham went on an embassy from this country; he readily agreed to abolish the slave trade, and he did so after they left the country; but we neglected altogether taking any advantage of his good disposition, and therefore the evil was continued. But only within these last three years our consul or vice-consul at Mourzouk wrote a very important letter to Lord Aberdeen, to solicit him, if possible, to get a communication opened with Bornou, to support the sheik in his endeavors to put an end to the slave trade. I had a great deal of conversation with Lord Aberdeen upon this very point; and if the committee will refer to the map, they will see the importance of it. I pointed out to his Lordship that, with the greatest ease in the world, by means of steam navigation, within three days or four days, you could reach the territory of the chief of Bornou, and, with that communication, you might avail yourself of the efforts of a most intelligent man to forward our objects—a man in the interior of Africa, something like what Mehemet Ali was in Egypt.

Is not a trading disposition found to prevail in all the African States?

Everywhere; they are all much given to trade; but, unfortunately, the trade in which they embark is principally and ultimately with the view of carrying on the slave trade.

Can this disposition be gratified now, except through the medium of the slave trade?

It is impossible; I look upon it as impossible, because they have no security. If a man plants his field and cultivates a piece of ground, he does not know that he can reap it; he may be swept away by some barbarous inroad or other arising from their slave-hunts.

If conveyance could be provided to the interior, have you any doubt that manufactures could be exchanged for native produce to any extent?

To a very great extent, indeed; and, with the assistance and support of such a chief as I have mentioned, who rules over a country much larger than France, you have a nucleus in the very heart of Africa for putting an end to the slave trade; and *from* thence it would spread rapidly to all the countries around.

Will you mention the kinds of produce with which we might be supplied?

There are immense numbers of them; there are large descriptions of

dye-stuffs, cotton, sugar, coffee, and a great number of valuable descriptions of timber; there is a great deal of very fine copper and a great quantity of fine iron to be found in various parts of Africa, and in some parts gold is very abundant; there are oils, also, and gums, and Indian corn in abundance.

If such a system of trade should be introduced and firmly established, what would be its effects upon the foreign slave trade?

It would destroy it altogether. Suppose you got the chief of Bornou to abolish the slave trade: you would cut off not only the slave trade which comes down to the coast, but the hideous slave trade which is carried on across the Great Desert. It would be impossible for the Arab trade across the Great Desert to carry goods to Bornou, or anywhere in the interior of Africa, to come in competition with the goods carried from the seacoast and up the river Niger.

Would it not take a very long course of time to produce those happy results which you have been describing to the committee as arising out of the great capability of Africa for trade in these productions of every kind?

Not near so long as might be imagined. The elements are all there; they only require to be brought into activity; all they require is security; it would go on with a rapidity which would be perfectly astonishing. Many chiefs, I find, in many parts of Africa (for I have tolerably good information throughout the whole of it) are inclined to extend cultivation and commerce, if they had only the means and adequate security afforded them.

Can you state to the committee any probable approximation to what is the value of the present export trade to Africa?

It is difficult to reach that exactly; our exports to the whole of the west coast in 1847 were £518,000; that was to every part in western Africa, except the Cape of Good Hope.

Is that the declared value, or the real value?

The declared value; the public tables do not separate the different countries in giving our imports, which is a great defect. You are obliged to go through the whole of the different colonies in order to ascertain that; and it is always several years before you can get them brought forward. There is, for instance, a very large import from Africa, of which we never see anything in our official returns, which is gold-dust. What the amount is now, I cannot say exactly; but I have very little doubt, from all that I know, that it is equal to what it was one hundred and fifty years ago, when it amounted, among the different European nations, to £217,000 sterling a year; I dare say it is equal to that now.

You can form no approximation to the probable amount of the exporting trade of Africa?

The palm oil imported into this country the year before the last was 360,000 cwt., which is 18,000 tons. There is a great deal of teak timber, also, imported into this country, and ground-nuts. There is some coffee now from Sierra Leone; the cultivation of that seems to be increasing there of late. There is one thing which I may mention now, while I am upon this subject, which is of great importance: Our African possessions have lagged far behind in improvement; but it was impossible that it could be otherwise, when all their productions were subject to the high foreign duties. It is very extraordinary that our possessions on the west coast of Africa should all have been charged with foreign duties till the bill of the other year came into operation.

You stated to the committee that the main hindrance to the growth of such a legitimate trade as you have referred to was the slave trade?

Certainly.

*Testimony of Captain John Adams, R. N.*—Are you able to state to the committee, from your own observation, with any accuracy, how many ships, in your opinion, it would be necessary to have to prevent the slave trade upon the western coast of Africa?

I think the calculation we made before Dr. Lushington would be quite sufficient to stop the slave trade, or to give it such a check as it has not yet received; that number was thirty-seven.

For what extent of coast might a ship and her boats so effectually blockade the coast?

I should think between thirty and forty miles.

Do you think any advantage would be derived from supplying the larger ships' boats with a small steam-power?

I have no doubt of it; half of my time was lost by being obliged to beat against the current to relieve the boats; our men, also, were very often seized with fever, and were laid up after a long chase.

In distributing those thirty-seven vessels, which you spoke of as having been recommended to Dr. Lushington as the requisite force upon the coast, how many of them would you place below the line?

I think that must be managed according to information as to the way in which the slave trade shifts about.

What proportion of steamers would you have out of the thirty-seven vessels?

I would have two-thirds steamers.

Of what size would you have the steamers?

I would have the steamers to mount not more than one long gun on a pivot; a vessel with one gun would do just as much as a vessel with ten guns would do. I would have two divisional large vessels out there, and no more.

*Testimony of Commander E. Fishbourne, R. N.*—Will you state to the committee, from your own experience on the coast, how many miles of coast you think a sailing vessel, well found in boats, might effectually watch?

That would depend upon the coast entirely. Sometimes it would require one to every thirty miles; sometimes, again, on the other hand, one hundred miles, or one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles, might be watched; that arises from the circumstance that the beach, in many instances, is such that they cannot embark, except in one place, in the whole two hundred miles.

Taking the line of the coast, as far as you know it, have you considered what number of ships would be necessary to watch it?

I think, taking all things into consideration, the present number, if they were allowed to have tenders, and if all the means for increasing their efficiency were adopted which could be, even without any increase of expense, might effect it.

Will you name to the committee the points in which the squadron could be made more efficient without increasing its expense?

By decreasing the size of the steam vessels; by employing auxiliary screw vessels instead of paddle-wheel vessels. A paddle-wheel vessel is not an efficient vessel on the coast, except when she is under steam; they

are bad cruisers as sailing vessels, and the time that they are under steam is necessarily very limited; it is only occasionally that steam is absolutely requisite. To take a comparative estimate of the expense: the first cost of the steamers which are used on the coast now is from £50 to £66 a ton; they are large in tonnage; I should suppose the average may be 900 tons. The vessels which I would propose might be had at first cost for £23 a ton, with auxiliary screws; and they would be good sailing vessels and good steam vessels; they would be about 600 tons, and the difference of expense would be enormous. The average tonnage of the six steamers that have been employed on the coast is about 900 tons, and the cost about £60 per ton— $900 \times 6 \times 60 = £324,000$ , first cost. The tonnage of those I propose would be 600, and their cost per ton £23— $600 \times 6 \times 23 = £82,800$ , first cost. The annual cost of the wear and tear on these would be, in same ratio, about that of their cost; average horse-power of those hitherto employed was 300; consumption of coals, about 30 cwt. per hour; the coals at Kabenda cost £2 10s.; expense of which for (say) sixty days' steaming, and the year, would be  $90 \times 6 \times 60 = £32,400$ . The average horse power of those I propose 80, and the expense of coals 10 cwt. per hour— $30 \times 6 \times 60 = £10,800$ . And these six auxiliaries would be equal to nine paddle steamers, as I have no doubt but that a builder would be found that would guaranty equal, if not greater speed, under sail, than that of the present sailing vessels, (cruisers.) The number of men employed in these would be less. The commodore's steamer costs for coals alone about £150 a day; the screw vessels would cost about £25 a day. In point of efficiency as cruisers I should estimate two screw vessels to be worth at least three of the other steamers. They have now sent the *Rattler* there. To give an illustration of the comparative value, the *Grappler*, being a paddle wheel steamer, could not keep her station under sail in the Bights, owing to the current, but was obliged to anchor; had she been a good sailing vessel she would have kept her station without any expense of coals.

You mentioned the importance of establishing a British factory at Lagos; do you think there would be any difficulty in the British government establishing such factories as that at Cape Coast castle upon many points of the coast the most infested with the slave trade?

The Portuguese territory is the most infested of any; and, of course, there it is impossible. Putting that part out of the question, I should think certainly not; or, if you could encourage Liberia to extend their territory, it might be beneficial.

Your impression as to the efficiency of the check given by the republic of Liberia is strong?

Yes; I think so, certainly; they have not, of course, sufficient power; and they have lately applied for, and our government have given them, a colonial vessel. I think if they had further countenance they would extend, as they have every desire to extend, their territory; and it would be very valuable.

*Testimony of Captain H. D. Trott r, R. N.*—Are you prepared to suggest any modification of the system?

I may mention to your Lordships, that when I was examined with other naval officers before the Duc de Broglie and Dr. Lushington, in 1845, those who gave their evidence were requested to give their united opinion as to the number of vessels which would be necessary; and as the opinions formed by officers who met together day after day to consider

this special subject must be more satisfactory than any individual opinion of mine, I should wish to hand in to your Lordships this document, which we at that time agreed upon. The officers examined, besides myself, were Captain Denham, Captain Butterfield, Captain Adams, and Commander Sprigg. Our opinion was expressed as follows: "In accordance with the request of the Right Honorable S. Lushington, D. C. L., we, the British naval officers, Captains Trotter, Denham, Butterfield, and Adams, and Commander Sprigg, who have been examined before the Duc de Broglie and Dr. Lushington, have consulted together, and we are of opinion, that on the west coast of Africa it would require thirty-seven sail of vessels, eleven small steamers and twenty-six sailing vessels." I would here remark, that we have only had about twenty-two cruisers employed since that period. If I had had the selection of vessels for that coast, I should very much have preferred (especially taking into consideration the expense) a much smaller class of vessel. It seems natural that in order to seize slave vessels, a similar kind of vessel to those they use ought to be employed, and I think that the thirty-seven small vessels which we contemplated being used might have been employed at no more expense than the twenty-two vessels since employed.

Do those thirty-seven vessels include the French vessels?

No; this was quite independent of the French squadron. We thought that thirty-seven vessels would be sufficient on the west coast without a French squadron. We then went on to say, "On the east coast of Africa and Madagascar, eighteen sail of vessels, six large steamers and twelve sailing vessels, making a total of fifty-five vessels" on the two coasts. "In this estimate we have supposed that the system will be adopted of constantly watching the slave depôts, and that the cruisers are invested with the general rights of search on the coast of Africa." It appears to me that Sir Charles Hotham's system has not been a system of watching the depôts, which we had especially in view in offering this opinion. I may mention that, in the year 1845, Lord Aberdeen's reversal of the order with regard to destroying the goods in the barracoons had its influence in leading us to specify so great a number of vessels; but it strikes me that to do the thing effectually, thirty seven would not be too many, even now that the order appears to be again in force; but a large proportion of the vessels employed (steamers as well as sailing vessels) might be of a small size, with an auxiliary screw; and if the whole squadron had the auxiliary screw, so much the better.

That opinion, so given, was the result of a careful consideration of the subject, and mutual converse by several officers well acquainted practically with the facts of the case?

Yes, it was quite so with respect to the west coast. With regard to the east coast, we were obliged to rely upon the opinion of one officer only, he only having served upon that coast. Captain Wyville, however, who has much more recently served on the coast, and may, therefore, be a better judge of what is now required, says that a much smaller number of vessels would be sufficient to repress the slave trade on the east coast. He speaks very confidently on this subject in his evidence before the committee of the House of Commons.

The thirty-seven vessels were intended for the west coast?

Yes.

And nothing that has since happened, has altered your own impression as to the probability of the success of such an armament?

Nothing whatever, more particularly since Sir Charles Hotham's late transactions at the Gallinas; for it is this which induces me to believe that if the order for burning slave factories has not been renewed in its original form, a similar one, at least, must have been issued.

Are you aware that the meaning put upon Lord Aberdeen's letter was not at all that which was intended to be put upon it?

So I have understood.

Are the committee to understand that your view of the subject is, that the squadron should act strictly as a preventive force, affording, by the check which it gives to the slave trade, an opportunity for leading the native Africans to turn their attention to agriculture and production, instead of the exportation of men?

I think that a strict blockade of the coast would have that tendency; it has had it already in the Bight of Biafra and other parts.

You would not conceive that it would be necessary to look forward to always maintaining such a squadron, because the up growth of a more legitimate trade will, in your judgment, take the place of the slave trade?

Yes; I think we shall be able gradually to diminish the force.

In carrying out that object, you would expect to derive large assistance from the establishment of factories on different parts of the coast?

Yes; I think the establishment of factories is very desirable, protected, if necessary, by small forts.

And to that you would add, if possible, the establishment of model farms, maintained by Africans from the West India islands?

That is a most desirable thing, particularly as there appears to be a great desire on the part of the Africans, both at Sierra Leone and in some parts of the West Indies—at Barbadoes, for instance—to colonize parts of the coast and the interior. Such a model farm is soon likely to be in operation at Abbeokuta, in the Yomba country, 56 miles inland from Badagry, (a town of at least 50,000 inhabitants) where, within the last nine years, about 3,000 liberated Africans of the Yomba nation have found their way, having gone from Sierra Leone at their own expense, in condemned slave vessels which they bought for the purpose. A great proportion of these people are Christians and members of the Church Missionary Society, and they now wish to the Gospel to add the plough; in which object they are to receive some pecuniary assistance from a society called the African Native Committee. It is of great importance that the slave trade should be thoroughly repressed in the neighborhood of Badagry and Lagos, the seaports of Abbeokuta, in order that this offshoot of Sierra Leone may have a fair chance of extending the benefits of civilization to the neighboring parts of Africa. The land is said to be very fertile, and the chiefs highly favorable to the new settlers, who appear to be firmly re-established in their own country. In writing lately to the Rev. Mr. Townsend, one of the Abbeokuta missionaries, I asked him why he expected civilization to extend more quickly in the neighborhood of Abbeokuta than in the vicinity of Sierra Leone. He replied as follows: "My reasons for expecting great results from Abbeokuta, are—1st. The readiness with which they (the Yombas) have received the truth from us, both in Sierra Leone and in Abbeokuta; 2d. The greater amount of intelligence and civilization possessed by the Yombas and their neighbors over the inhabitants of the countries adjacent to Sierra Leone; 3d. The absence of immediate intercourse between the Yombas and the white slave-dealers.

"Should the slave trade be destroyed, one great cause of moral de-

basement will be removed. Wherever the slave trade has exercised any influence, the removal of this traffic will be the removal of a great hindrance to every good influence; and Sierra Leone would feel the good resulting from it in her trade with the surrounding countries. The influence of Sierra Leone, however, is more felt in Abbeokuta than in countries adjacent, as far as moral influence is concerned, and therefore we cannot draw a comparison between them. What good has been done in Abbeokuta, has been in a very great measure the result of the influence of Sierra Leone; and the extension of the Abbeokuta mission would not be accomplished without Sierra Leone influence. I should say, therefore, that we cannot draw any comparison between the places, seeing that the good done at Abbeokuta has resulted, under God, from the influence of Sierra Leone.

"As the tribes around Abbeokuta are far more intelligent and civilized than those around Sierra Leone, I do not expect religion and civilization to spread more rapidly in the former than in the latter place. One prominent feature in the disposition of the people around Sierra Leone is this—to follow implicitly the customs of their fathers. They defend their evil customs by saying, 'Our fathers did so, and we, their children, cannot but follow their example.' This disposition is far less prominent in the Yomba country, and in its place is observable a desire to imitate those who excel them."

I trust that the slave trade may be speedily eradicated from the Bight of Benin—that "the Gospel and the plough" may have, so to speak, a fair chance of spreading Christianity and civilization through that part of Africa. The slave trade in the Bight of Benin still exists; but a force of five or six cruisers would effectually suppress it. There is no slave trade further to the eastward than thirty miles to the east of Lagos.

Is there any other suggestion upon the subject which you would make to the committee?

I think the blockade ought to be a very constant one; therefore, it might be well to have two or three additional depots of coals, and also of provisions. There is only one depot of coals at present on the coast to the south of the line. I think it would be well to take into consideration the propriety of having more depots, in order to prevent as much as possible the vessels leaving their cruising ground; or transports might perhaps be advantageously employed to run down the coast with supplies. The transports might also be useful in taking to St. Helena any slaves which the cruisers may have seized in the open launches which are so often met with on the south coast. By means of these transports, also, the men-of-war might receive their letters from England more frequently—a matter of great importance. I may mention the suggestion so often made—that of substituting tonnage-money for head-money; and, in order to encourage the capture of empty vessels, I would deduct from the tonnage-money of the full ones so much for each slave found on board. I would recommend a general increase of pay throughout the African squadron, with a small tonnage money in addition to those who make captures. The prospect of promotion, also, ought to be held out to both officers and men for service on the coast, as it is on the coast-guard service at home, but to a greater extent. The commodore ought to have a tender, (with auxiliary screw,) to enable him to visit the different parts of the station, and not to be tied down to his proper ship;—particularly if that ship be employed to supply provisions to the smaller vessels. With

regard to the system of watching the coast before alluded to, I wish it to be understood that I had in view Captain Denman's well-known "memorandum." I did not mean that the cruisers should be anchored off the coast, but that those parts of the coast where the slave trade is likely to be carried on should be so watched by our vessels that the general character of the system would be that of an in-shore squadron, from one to three miles off-shore, (or further, when off the bars of rivers,) anchoring or under sail, as most expedient. This would probably be found as healthy as the plan of keeping the vessels at a greater distance from the coast. If the captains and crews of slave vessels could be effectually punished, I need not say how materially it would deter others from engaging in the trade. Hard labor would be a most appropriate and effective punishment. There would soon be an end to the slave trade if Brazil and Spain and Portugal would allow us to inflict some such summary punishment upon their subjects.

Supposing tenders were given to the cruisers; would that diminish the necessity of keeping up so large a force of cruisers as you have mentioned?

I think the system of tenders is a most desirable one. I think that most of the vessels which are employed on the coast now are unnecessarily large, both sailing vessels and steamers.

The question refers to tenders to the different cruisers. Could not you, then, do with fewer than thirty-seven vessels?

If tenders were employed, thirty seven vessels would not be required; and tenders are very easily obtained on the coast—many of the slave vessels being admirably adapted for the purpose—and they could be bought very cheap.

And they might be manned in a great measure by the Kroomen, instead of adding to the number of British seamen?

In a great measure they might be.

Have you any further suggestions which you wish to make to the committee?

I have a letter which I received from the Rev. Hope Waddell just before he sailed the other day. He is a gentleman who has been a missionary in the old Calabar river for several years. It is an answer to two questions which I asked him. "The two questions you ask I would answer as follows: If the cruisers were withdrawn, I have no doubt the slave trade would revive all along the Guinea coast, from which it has, to a great extent, been driven. From Benin it would instantly extend to Bonny, and from Bonny to Calabar. Our treaty with Calabar might for a time check it. The presence of the missionaries might in some degree check it; but I fear that, in spite of both, it would revive. I would not say that the cruisers are the most effectual means that could be employed. Other more effectual means might be used; still the support of an armed force might for some time longer be required, till the other means had begun to take effect. Either the Africans themselves must be induced to abandon it, or the coast must be taken from them and colonized by free blacks from America, under the protection of Britain." I think Mr. Waddell is under a mistake which many fall into in talking of the squadron as a means of civilizing Africa. I always think myself that the squadron ought to be considered in this light—that it is only by the squadron that you are enabled to do anything towards the civilization of Africa. If the squadron is taken away, I believe the legal trade will decline, and the civilization of Africa will be retarded to an indefinite period.



Another part of Mr. Waddell's letter is this: "There is not a sufficient number of free blacks in Africa to be depended on for supplying the alleged wants of the West Indies; and the few who exist would not go for a longer term than a year of their own accord, though their return should be guaranteed. The Kroomen are not, I believe, willing to engage for a longer term, as a general rule. At Calabar there are no free people who would work well anywhere, and they are determined against leaving their own country. But I may mention that King Eyo says that he has so many bad slaves that he would gladly get rid of, that he would give a shipful to any person for nothing. He has no means of expatriating offenders now, and is tired, he says, of flogging and killing them. I have not heard of any slaves being shipped at Calabar since the treaty was made with that country, in 1841, against the trade—that is, no foreign slave trade has been carried on there; but the Calabar people still purchase slaves in the markets of the interior for their own farming, domestic, and superstitious purposes," &c.

What does the writer mean by superstitious purposes?

Frequently at the death of a chief they sacrifice as many as one hundred individuals. It is one of the most degraded places in all Africa in this respect.

*Testimony of Captain the Hon. J. Denman.*—In your opinion, if we abandoned our present attempt, we should render the slave trade, in fact, perpetual?

Yes; and with respect to that, I should wish to observe, that at the present statement of the price of slaves in Brazil, and the number imported, £3,600,000 is spent in the purchase of slaves. Supposing you throw the slave trade open; the very highest price of slaves then would be half the present amount, or £25 a head. I think it is obvious that the same sum at least would be expended in slaves; and, therefore, the demand would be at once doubled.

You destroyed the slave factories in the Gallinas in 1840?

I did.

How far do you concur, from what you yourself then witnessed, in the statement that such measures had either no effect in diminishing the slave trade, or that the effect it had was quite counterbalanced by the injurious effect in other respects?

I am of opinion that the effects are entirely advantageous, and that it is the severest blow which we can strike at the slave trade, because it goes at once to the root of the evil. Those depots which are indispensable to the slave trade under the present treaties contain goods of immense value, and at once you cut off all chances of the return of the capital thus invested.

Can you give the committee any grounds for believing that there has been much error in the opinions commonly entertained upon certain points, which have been also strongly pressed upon them in the evidence? One of those points is, that the slave trade is now as extensive as ever.

I have already stated Sir Charles Macarthy's account of the exports from two single rivers, which will certainly show that those two rivers alone exported formerly upwards of 50,000 slaves a year. Here is another despatch in the year 1821, showing that from other parts of the coast, in periods of six and four months, 21,000 slaves were exported; those are both north of the equator. At this time the slave trade in the Bight of Benin and at Gallinas was far larger than it has been of late years. A

great number of other points also existed within those limits. Besides those, there was a large slave trade south of the line, of which we observed nothing in those days, because we could not touch a slave vessel in south latitude, and by which Brazil was entirely supplied. We may suppose, at the most moderate computation, that the number amounted to 40,000 a year; and here is Captain Owen's statement, he at that time being employed on the east coast of Africa, that two ports alone upon that coast exported 25,000 slaves. It is impossible to believe that the whole slave trade amounted to less than 150,000 a year.

You would therefore convey to the committee your strong impression, founded upon those documents, that the amount of the slave trade has been greatly diminished by the British squadron?

Very greatly diminished, though complete suppression has not been at all effected. Had it been left to itself, instead of being now about one-third of what it was in 1821, it would have been at least double that amount. Another objection urged is, that the measures adopted by England have greatly increased the horrors and the mortality of the slave trade. Will you state to the committee your impression upon that point?

The committee may be satisfied, by referring to the returns of the mixed commission courts of the vessels captured, that the aggregate mortality of all the vessels captured within the last ten years will show a mortality of less than 10 per cent. The mortality is always greater after we have captured them than it would be upon the passage across; and I take the mortality of the present slave trade to be generally far under ten per cent., and therefore even lower than it was under the legalized slave trade of Great Britain. To establish this fact, I will quote a statement which appears in the evidence published this year by the House of Commons committee, page 3. The commissioners at Sierra Leone state that in the year 1848, out of 5,691 slaves captured, between the period of their capture and the decree of their emancipation 337 died; that is rather under 6 per cent. But not only do they state such to be the mortality, but they call it "this dreadful mortality," and proceed to account for it as an uncommon and unusual amount of deaths; and, in order to explain it, they mention a special case which swelled the mortality to this unusual amount. The deaths in this especial case were only 14 per cent. on her cargo of slaves; and yet the committee of the House of Commons made a report, at the end of the last session, that since the year 1817, when our treaties came into force, the average mortality suddenly sprung up from 14 per cent. to 25 per cent. With respect to that, I should wish to observe, that, from the year 1817 till the year 1827, we never had more than five or six cruisers on the coast of Africa employed against the slave trade; and to suppose that, upon a slave trade amounting to at least 150,000, those five or six vessels could suddenly produce such a result, is the most absurd thing that ever was gravely stated.

Another statement which has been made is, that the effect of the British cruisers has been to cause a greater number to be carried in vessels, and so to produce a greater crowding. How far do you think that is borne out by the fact?

I am convinced that a competition would cause exactly the same result as that which is now imputed to the English squadron. With regard to the crowding, I am satisfied that the mortality is far less than it was at the time of our own slave trade; because in the time of our own slave trade, vessels were built not for fast sailing, but for carrying; they had

three or four tiers of decks; they were much longer upon the passage, and, from the tiers of decks, the ventilation was not half so good.

Another statement is, that it has led to the use of unseaworthy vessels, and so has caused more suffering among the Africans. Will you state to the committee whether with that statement you concur?

In the year 1834, as I before mentioned to the committee, I was placed in charge of the first Brazilian slave-ship which was ever captured; till about that time we had had no capture at all. I never in my life saw a vessel in such a state of destitution—such a mere wreck upon the waters; she had no cable on board, every mast was sprung, every rope was rotten, every sail in holes, and she was fitted out for the voyage with rope which had been condemned as paper stuff. We were nearly losing her before we were a day out of Rio; one pump was choked, and remained useless all the voyage; the other broke, but we managed to repair it; and at one time, the night we left Rio, she had six feet water in the hold. I take the condition of this vessel to be a fact utterly oversetting the statement that we have caused them to adopt bad vessels by our interference; the result has been exactly the reverse.

*Letter of Commissary Judge James Hook to Lord Palmerston, December, 1848.*

The Rio Pongas may now be considered to be the sole mart for the slave trade to the northward of Sierra Leone. I have only heard of two slavers having escaped with slaves on board from the Rio Pongas during the year 1848, and I believe they were both owned by Spaniards.

I have the pleasure to report to your Lordship that, by order of the French government, all the slaves in Senegal and Moree have been emancipated. This highly interesting event cannot fail to produce important effects upon the natives of the neighboring kingdoms, and to convince them that Great Britain and France are determined not only to suppress the slave trade, but also slavery itself, in every part of their dominions.

Already agriculture, upon a most extensive scale, is in progress among the natives living between this place and Gambia; rice and ground-nuts are the chief articles cultivated. The ground-nut trade has for several years past formed a highly important and valuable branch of export trade. The demand for ground-nuts, from France, Hamburgh, and America, far exceeds the supply. I earnestly hope that the spirit of agriculture and commerce now happily manifesting itself among the natives is the sure dawn of brighter days for benighted Africa.

With the only exception of the Rio Pongas, I consider that we have now no export slave trade between Cape Blanco and Sierra Leone, a distance of coast of upwards of 600 miles.

Before concluding my report, I beg respectfully to make a few remarks on the suggestions promulgated by certain parties in reference to the withdrawal of the British squadron on this coast for the suppression of the slave trade.

For more than 30 years I have taken a lively interest in the cause of abolition; and my present position in her Majesty's service, together with a residence of many years in Africa, enable me to state, for your

Lordship's information, an opinion gained by actual experience and observation upon the present progress of the cause of the abolition of the slave trade, which, I humbly trust, may induce some of those who entertain the mistaken views of advocating the withdrawal of the squadron to pause ere they sanction a measure so utterly ruinous to millions of the human family.

It is my firm belief that in nine or twelve months after the withdrawal of our squadron, the whole of western Africa, from Cape Verde to Benguela, would present a scene of cruelty and devastation too fearful to contemplate. All the progress of Christianity, civilization, and commerce would be annihilated; in a word, western Africa would, in the course of a year or two, be rolled back to its worst pristine savage condition. The coast would become the resort of the most degraded renegades and pirates of Brazil and other nations.

If our merchants entertain a hope that the trade of palm oil, gold, ivory, ground-nuts, hides, wax, &c., will continue to exist after the withdrawal of our squadron, I fear that they will be woefully disappointed. The thousands of palm oil carriers and agricultural laborers would instantly be kidnapped and carried on board slave vessels. After a time, the remaining natives would avoid the coast as they would the locality of a plague.

In my humble opinion, this dreaded calamity can only be evaded by a strong treaty with Brazil, similar to or more stringent than that with Spain. Your Lordship has, doubtless, noticed the excellent effect of the penal law of Spain, dated the 2d March, 1815, upon the Spanish slave traders; since its promulgation, upwards of two years ago, we have only had one vessel under Spanish colors brought before the mixed courts of Sierra Leone.

I would also venture to remark, that hardly any squadron, however vigilant—and none could be more so than the present—would alone effect the total abolition of the slave trade on this coast, unless it be supported by a zealous, honest co-operation of the Brazilian and Spanish governments.

In my opinion, the concluding part of this great undertaking can only be brought to a successful termination by applying gentler means and strict enforcement of treaties before the squadron is withdrawn from this coast.

I have, &c.,

JAMES HOOK.

*Letter of Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.*

GREAT MALVERN, July 17, 1849.

MY DEAR LORD: I beg to enclose a letter upon the slave-trade and preventive squadron, by the Rev. H. Townsend, who has resided a long time in Africa as a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, which I hope the committee will allow to be printed with the appendix to the evidence.

In forwarding this letter, I would beg to offer a few general observations on the same subject.

The more I consider the present position of the slave trade, and the

means at command for putting it down, the more hope I have of seeing this great object speedily accomplished. Many circumstances justify this expectation. Portugal, which has never hitherto acted in good earnest with us, by all accounts, feels it at length to be her interest to abolish the slave trade in her colonies in Africa. Her honest co-operation to the south of the line would aid us materially in suppressing it there, whilst her example to the north of the line, at Bissão, (north of Sierra Leone,) in the promotion of agriculture and commerce, and the example of the French at Goree and Senegal in liberating all their slaves, has already had a most beneficial effect on the neighboring native tribes; in fact, excepting at the river Pongas, where the slave trade is still occasionally carried on upon a small scale, the traffic has ceased to exist everywhere to the northward of Sierra Leone, where in future one or two vessels of war at the most will be sufficient to keep it down.

I beg to refer your lordship to the enclosed extracts from the letter of Mr. Judge Hook, at Sierra Leone, and of Mr. Consul Rendall, addressed to Lord Palmerston, dated in December, 1848.

Again: the effect of the late destruction of the barracoons and slave-trade goods at the Gallinas has put an end to the slave trade to the south of Sierra Leone as far as the Bight of Benin, though it may for a considerable time be requisite to station six or seven vessels on that part of the coast to keep it suppressed. The Bight of Benin, therefore, may be said to be almost the only spot north of the equator where the slave trade has not been suppressed. It is believed that six or seven vessels will accomplish this—keeping two vessels, also, in the Bight of Biafra, as far as the equator, to prevent its rise there.

While the slave trade has thus been checked in north latitude, commerce is increasing almost everywhere, accompanied, in many places, by successful missionary operations—the great moral antidote to the tyranny and barbarity of the slave trade.

The increasing prosperity of the newly-recognised republic of Liberia is also favorable to our cause; and the desire of the blacks at Barbadoes to colonize the coast and the interior, under British rule, is also very encouraging. The Barbadoes African Colonization Society, in their late address to the select committee of the House of Commons, express their conviction *that it was in the design of the Almighty governor of the universe in permitting the great wrong, (of carrying away their forefathers from Africa,) that their descendants, reared in the circle of civilization, and acquiring a practical knowledge of its usages and arts, and of the truths of the gospel, should in due time be his efficient instruments in the regeneration of their fatherland; and they conclude by saying that, should they obtain the patronage and support of philanthropic friends in the mother country, and of their brethren and others in the West Indies, they would soon be able, under God's blessing, with the plentiful materials around them, to establish a colony on the coast that would, probably, be but the beginning of a series of similar settlements immediately productive of considerable advantages to British manufactures and to commerce generally, and tending eventually to the regeneration of their fatherland and the glory of God.*

The following interesting letter from Abbeokuta is also highly interesting and encouraging:

“A noble prize has lately been taken by the ships of war—a cargo or cargoes of slaves, said to be above twelve hundred, shipped from Lagos—

the effect of which is felt through Abbeokuta; a thing we never witnessed before.

"A number of slaves were taken down to Lagos market a few days ago by the traders of this place, bought from the interior at the rate of fifty or sixty dollars each slave, with the prospect of selling them at a good profit. On their arrival at the market, however, the Portuguese could disguise their enormous loss no longer, but plainly told the people that they could give no more than thirty dollars for each slave, as they had suffered the loss of all they lately shipped. The consequence was, the people returned to Abbeokuta with all their slaves, very much discouraged in the trade. I have got this information from three independent persons, who are themselves traders in slaves. The prayer of a great number of the inhabitants of this place is, that Lagos may be destroyed, and the Portuguese driven away, that the temptation held out to them in the slave trade may be removed; but I pray, rather, that legitimate trade may be introduced at Lagos by the English, and that the water communication may be made accessible to all. In the mean time I hope the force of the cruisers will not relax, lest the beneficial effects of checking the slave trade in this port, which is now begun to be felt by thousands in the interior, die away, and prove no lasting good to the cause of slavery."

If, under these many promising circumstances, the system of an in-shore squadron, so strongly recommended by Captain Denman and other experienced officers, be adopted and carried out with the zeal and energy with which Sir Charles Hotham so conspicuously but unsuccessfully, as he himself admits, carried out a different system, there cannot be a doubt that the slave trade will practically be at an end on the west coast within a very short period. And Commodore Wyvill, on the Cape of Good Hope station, in his evidence before the House of Commons committee last year, spoke as confidently regarding the suppression on the east coast.

It is a very common argument against the keeping up of the African squadron, that it matters little whether we keep our vessels near the shore or at a distance; that we have never been able to guard our own coast against the smugglers, and why should we expect other results abroad? But the fact is, there is no analogy between the two cases—between *watches* ranged along the line of *import*, with power to seize contrabandists and their goods as they approach the coast, and a force stationed off the place of *export*, empowered to seize the offenders on their leaving, as well as on their approaching, the coast. As well might we compare the conventional illegality of the one with the essential wickedness of the other. I am glad to be borne out by Sir Charles Hotham in the opinion, so contrary to the general impression by those ignorant of the subject in this country, that the horrors of the middle passage are not increased by the proceedings of our preventive squadron. But the following testimony from Mr. Consul Rendall is still more valuable, as he has not only had experience of the trade at the present time, but was an eye-witness of it formerly. In his letter to Lord Palmerston, dated last December, he states as follows:

"I regret to be obliged to admit, to the fullest extent, the sufferings endured by the slave in the middle passage. This evil has, unfortunately, existed too long, and been narrated too often, to be at this date doubted. It is, however, a great mistake to ascribe all the existing misery to the system

pursued by the English squadron to put down the export traffic. Did not the same evils exist, the same loss of life, the same crowding of the hold, the same scanty supply of provisions and water, the same amount of sickness, filth, and stench, in the slave ships of Spain and Portugal (which includes Brazil) at the period when they were quietly carrying on the slave trade without any annoyance from the British cruisers, and keeping their dealings within the limits of treaties? Most certainly it was the case, and the facts can be proved by a reference to the records describing the state of the first prize slave vessels brought into Sierra Leone belonging to those nations. I was an eye-witness to such scenes in the early stages of the abolition, and had plenty of opportunities of observing the state in which these vessels were always found, and can therefore speak to the facts I have stated. The same miseries, therefore, having existed during a period of legitimate trade, it is not surprising that the same evils should accompany the same trade when carried on under a system of contraband.

“To elucidate, however, the question further, I will suppose that the miseries of the middle passage were the natural consequence of the English squadron’s measures, and therefore it was deemed necessary to relax some of the existing regulations, to admit a free exportation of the African, under the impression that by so doing, matters during the passage would be improved thereby. To do so, however, would be committing a sad mistake, because, in such a case, 100 slaves would be then shipped where only one now takes place; consequently, 99 more per cent. of misery would be added in marching to the coast, and in the kidnapping and warfare which always prevail upon an increased demand for slaves, and which, when summed up, from cruelties, from starvation, from thirst, and from fatigue, would amount to far beyond anything that now exists in the middle passage.

“To charge the acts of the British squadron with the miseries existing in the middle passage, because, forsooth, the traffic is contraband, is incorrect, the same evils having existed, almost to the same extent, when the slave trade was legitimate, and therefore of long standing. It is, however, a great and unfortunate evil that the African should be doomed to a life of continual toil, privation, and misery, from the period of being torn from home and the ties of youth; to an instalment upon some sugar plantation in America. I know not which epoch of transition is the one in which he suffers the most; and although her Majesty’s government are not in a position to interfere in his behalf to ameliorate his condition during the middle passage, they can, nevertheless, effect an immense deal for him before embarkation and after crossing the Atlantic. The princes, chiefs, and headmen in Africa would no doubt listen to any suggestions made to them, and an appeal to the Spanish and Brazilian governments might have a good effect.”

The number of vessels recommended by the five British naval officers who were examined before the Duc de Broglie and Dr. Lushington, in 1815, was 37, viz: 26 sailing vessels and 11 small steamers. This opinion was given without any reference to the employment of French vessels. The combined English and French squadron since employed has amounted on an average to 41 vessels—namely, 22 of each nation; but Sir Charles Hotham, in his letter to the admiralty of the 17th August, 1848, says, that “it is a fallacy to suppose that the French render us any assistance. They are generally in harbor, or, if at sea, confine their visits to

their own ships. Since October, 1846, they have not detained a vessel on suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade." It is not, however, from any unwillingness to act, but owing to the French government not being able to empower their vessels to search Brazilian, Spanish, or Portuguese vessels; and to the fact that, excepting with ourselves, they have no treaties with other nations for the suppression of the slave trade; that their vessels have been enabled to do nothing more than to guard their own flag from contamination with the slave trade, and they no doubt have done this effectually.

Twenty-two vessels only have, therefore, to all intents and purposes, been employed since 1845 as the preventive force on the west coast, instead of 37, the number recommended. I was one of the officers who named that number; and I am still of opinion that this force ought to be employed, for a time at least, on the west coast, unless, indeed, the auxiliary screw be applied to the sailing vessels, which would allow of their number being diminished.

In increasing our force, however, from 22 to 37 vessels, no additional expense need be incurred, for a much smaller class of vessels would be better than any of the present cruisers; and the fastest of the captured slave vessels would very often prove to be the very vessels we required, and would answer the purpose as well in regard to economy as efficiency.

Such vessels would, in the ordinary course of service, be commanded by lieutenants; but officers of higher rank might be appointed to them, should their coast experience render it advisable, the admiralty having it in their power to rate vessels according to the rank of the commander.

The nature of the service, both as to climate and the impossibility of obtaining proper recreation on shore, requires some inducement to be held out. Increased pay might be given; and tonnage money, to the exclusion of head money. Promotion might, also, well be given every year to a certain number, as on the coast guard at home, but to a much greater extent. The station has for a long time been unpopular with officers, notwithstanding its being a field of uncommon emulation and enterprise; and this, there can be no doubt, arises from the small hope of promotion held out.

I have calculated that about half of the thirty-seven vessels which I recommended would require to be stationed north of the line; the other half would be quite sufficient to the southward. This is a large force; but it would gradually be reduced as the coast became clear of slave vessels. Even were no higher objects contemplated than the increase of British commerce, the expenditure now required for the largest squadron would, in a few years, be amply repaid by the extent of resources eventually brought into connexion with British enterprise and science. But England has a higher principle at stake to urge her forward in her glorious struggle for the liberties of the oppressed population of Africa; and I trust the government of our country will never consent to a compromise of that principle, by a compliance with suggestions, (however honestly intended,) which would even so much as tolerate a traffic in human creatures—a traffic as contrary to the laws of God as to the rights of man, and involving no less disgrace to the nation which pursues or allows it, than misery to the many thousands that are its victims.

I have the honor to be, my dear lord, faithfully yours,

HENRY DUNDAS TROTTER,

*Captain Royal Navy.*



*Letter from the Rev. H. Townsend to Captain Trotter.*

2 HIRAM PLACE ST., SIDWELL'S,  
Exeter, January 31, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR: In answer to your request, I hasten to state what I conceive to be just reasons for the continuance of the cruisers on the coast of Africa, to prevent and suppress the slave trade.

The reasons given for the withdrawal of the squadron are, I understand, these—its expensiveness, its uselessness, and the increased horrors of the middle passage consequent on the employment of force for its suppression.

1. The expense of the African squadron seems to many an unwarrantable expenditure of the public money. Those who think so seem not to consider the slave trade in the light of a moral evil, entailing guilt upon those engaged in it, and upon us who formerly engaged in it; but it is the duty of Christian men to view it through the light of Divine Truth. Political economists of the present day think we have done all that could reasonably be expected of us to wipe away the stain on our national character, and that the twenty millions paid for the emancipation of the slaves held by British subjects did it. But we can have but a poor estimation of the evils inflicted upon mankind by us in the slave trade, if we think a sum of money, however large, will compensate for them. A slight examination of the evils we have inflicted upon mankind by it will prove this. For about two centuries and a half England was a purchaser of slaves. As a purchaser of slaves she offered a bribe which has been the cause of the most horrible wars, murders, cruelties, the destruction of towns, and of whole countries; and, indeed, of inflicting unheard-of cruelties upon one portion of the human family; and this, I repeat it, through a period of 200 and 300 years. Through the same period, too, she often inflicted upon slaves in her own colonies cruelties that, had they been perpetrated by any other than those called civilized, would have stamped them as beings most degraded, most barbarous. Could God, who has taught us to love each other, to do unto others as we would they should do unto us, look upon our horrid barbarities without (as the Governor of the Universe) judging us for our cruelties? Did the blood of one man ascend up to God and cry for vengeance, and shall the blood of thousands and thousands of the African race, for which England is responsible, be silent?

Now, consider what we have done nationally to wipe away the stain of this great sin; twenty millions were paid to emancipate those enslaved in our colonies. This was an act of justice, not mercy, as some persons suppose; for they were not our slaves because of any crime done against us, but they or their fathers were unjustly and most cruelly kidnapped and torn away from their native land. In other words, we *stole* them from their fatherland, where they dwelt in peaceful security, slaying those who resisted us, and without pity turning their country into a wilderness. He who offers to another a price to take away life or liberty, is as guilty of taking away that life or liberty as if the act were perpetrated by his own hands. In this way, England is guilty of the blood of millions.

By paying twenty millions of money to purchase the liberty of those held in slavery in her colonies, she acknowledged her national guilt, and showed a sincere desire to compensate for the wrongs she had done. But

is this all? Justly, we ought to restore the villages we have destroyed; give peace where our bribes have made war; soothe the sorrows of the childless, of the motherless, and of widows, made so by our acts. This we have not done. There remains, therefore, an immense debt due to injured Africa for wrong committed against her.

We have helped to introduce a system of foreign slavery into Africa. We have made slave wars so common that they cease to be looked upon as unjust. More than this, by purchasing slaves in Africa with our own produce, we have made the slave trade in Africa *necessary* in order to procure the necessaries of life; and we have made Africans the instruments of inflicting all these wrongs upon their own country. Thus we have not merely inflicted a physical evil upon Africa and her people, but a moral one also; and we shall never cancel the debt due to her until we, at all events, change that system which we have assisted to introduce amongst her people.

Some seek to justify the wrongs inflicted upon Africa, by saying that her children are barbarians, too indolent to work, and incapable of acquiring knowledge. Were this true—which, indeed, it is not—it could not justify the smallest wrong done them. Their want of the knowledge of the one true God laid them open to temptation, and we took advantage of their weakness. Instead of teaching them what we professed to know, *Christianity*, we made them tenfold more barbarous than they were before. Africa was weak, and she became the prey of the strong.

To uproot the system which we have helped to introduce is clearly a duty, and clearly, too, a difficult and expensive one to perform. The fault, however, is ours; we are the guilty party; we are debtors to injured Africa; and, although the sum annually spent to cancel our debt seems large, yet, when compared with the monstrous evils inflicted by us in times past, it is but a trifle. Should it even cost ten times more than it does, our duty remains the same—to make every sacrifice in order to amend the evils we have inflicted upon an unoffending people.

Our annual expenditure towards the suppression of the slave trade is not, therefore, a gratuitous act of kindness and benevolence that we may at any time forego; but is justly due, to undo the wrongs we have done.

2. Some, however, say that because the efforts hitherto made have not suppressed the slave trade, we should abandon the means hitherto used; and they seek to strengthen their position by stating that the means employed have increased the horrors of the slave trade, at the same time that they have failed to suppress it. In this way, many seek to do away with the preventive squadron on the coast of Africa.

That the preventive squadron has not yet accomplished its work, is most true; but it has done far more towards it than objectors generally allow; and it is not so likely ultimately to fail as they desire to prove. What has *not* been done has been most prominently brought forward, and what *has* been done is passed over as of no value.

It is of importance, therefore, to consider what has been done by the preventive squadron towards the suppression of the slave trade.

By the employment of this expensive squadron, we have shown to the world the sincerity of our repentance for having engaged in the slave trade. Who can say that this has made no good impression upon others engaged in it? Its very expensiveness has demonstrated our sincerity; its having been a costly sacrifice has proved more truly than any other

means could have done that England is in earnest. Had England been contented with bare profession, mere exclamations of just horror at the barbarous traffic, others might have been equally liberal with words; but who would have moved to act? Mere treaties cannot suppress the trade, any more than laws on the statute book can suppress crime; but the cruisers, as instruments of carrying out the law of nations, have made the guilty participators in crime feel that England is determined to suppress it.

The preventive squadron has liberated thousands of poor captives who would otherwise have pined in hopeless slavery and exile. They have been brought together and placed under the influence of Christian truths; and thousands of those thus liberated have become Christians, and thus have been made doubly free. This could not have been, had not our cruisers first delivered them; for how could we have appeared in Africa as messengers of the gospel of peace with the stain of so many wrongs inflicted upon Africa by us? or how could we have followed the captives to the land of slavery and taught them there, even had there been no law nor custom to prevent us? The subject of so many wrongs would justly tell us to go and learn the first principles of humanity. Christian teachers, however, find that the truths they teach the liberated Africans come home with a double force to their hearts, because they feel that England, by her cruisers, liberated them, and thus taught them, by her practices, the goodness of the religion she professes. Thus England has obtained a moral influence upon the Africans liberated by her. And who shall say to what this influence may lead? Divine Providence of late has shown us how this influence may extend itself and be the most important auxiliary in slave trade suppression. This I will not now endeavor to explain.

Many persons have thought that the negro race were insensible to the good we were desirous of doing them, and their not co-operating with us was regarded as a proof of their being beyond moral impressions. But the real cause of this apparent insensibility has been discovered. The slave traders, afraid of the results that might follow the truth being made known, have spread a report that the English cruisers were piratical vessels, and that Englishmen, being poor, were obliged to subsist on plunder. Thus it was not known in Africa beyond the coast, even if there, that England's object was Africa's deliverance. The effect of this false report has (at all events, in *one* part of Africa) been entirely dissipated—tangible proofs to the contrary, in God's providence, having been exhibited.

Some of the liberated Africans in Sierra Leone—people of the Égba tribe, a part of the Yomba nation—by some means or other became acquainted with the possibility of their returning to their native land, though upwards of a thousand miles distant. A few first went as pioneers, and their arrival at Abbeokuta was welcomed by the most lively joy.—(See note *a*, p. 90.) Then, for the first time, the people of that country became acquainted with these facts: that all white people were not slave traders, and that the English sought to suppress the slave trade. The humanity of the English nation, thus demonstrated, caused Englishmen to be there regarded as almost more than mortal—to use the natives' own expression, “people that live nearer to God than any other people.”

The respect felt for Englishmen was manifested in the most lively manner when Abbeokuta was afterwards visited by the Rev. S. B. Free-

man, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and also when visited by myself.

Subsequently, when I went to reside there, the same respect was shown to me, and those with me, by the whole town; chiefs and people together did what they could to show their attachment. When a public meeting was held to receive us formally, and to give us a residence among them, one of the chiefs remarked: "All other people in the world have said that the Egbas shall be destroyed: Englishmen alone have said that the Egbas shall live," (referring to the destruction of their country by slave wars, and the deliverance of their people by the cruisers;) "therefore, whatever the English teach us to do, we will do."

It may be thought by some that kidnapping and the slave trade would cease among this people at once, and that we ought naturally to expect this result. Such, indeed, were my own expectations on my first visit to them; but I have since lived among them long enough to see that my expectations were unnatural, and also to know that the slave trade there—the result of moral depravity—is continued as a means, as it is, in point of fact, the only means, of obtaining that supply of European merchandise which has been made necessary to the people's welfare. It is unnatural to suppose that the slave trade will be given up by the Africans while there is a demand for slaves, and while, at the same time, it remains the only channel by which their wants can be supplied. We ought to consider how difficult it is to remove a moral evil of such magnitude, and so entirely interwoven with the habits and necessities of a people as the slave trade is in Africa. To remove moral evils in our own country, with every means at command, is found to be a slow work; and how much more so must it be in a heathen country, where there is no religion to second it. I have been present when a law has been passed in a public assembly of chiefs and people in Abbeokuta, convened for the purpose, to prohibit all slave wars. This law was passed with acclamations; and, within a very short time afterwards, the law was violated, because the executive was too weak to compel compliance with it. Much, however, is gained when a public voice gives utterance to feelings opposed to a system like the slave-trade wars.

When the chief of the country is told he should compel his people to give over the slave wars, he replies: "It is impossible while Lagos exists as a slave mart, and is able to send presents to the evil-disposed chiefs of my own town, to incite them, and to strengthen them to perform evil deeds; and while, also, Lagos is able to send presents to neighboring tribes to make war upon us."—(See note *b*.) When pressed to give over the trade in slaves the common reply of chiefs and people is: "White men will only sell their goods for slaves; if white men would take our cotton, indigo, or anything else we have, we would gladly trade with these things instead of slaves."

I visited the farm of the chief Ogunbonna, near Abbeokuta, and, on looking over it, I observed a plot of ground that appeared to have been recently planted, but with what did not appear. On asking the chief what he had planted there I obtained this reply: "Ginger, by which I intend to prove if white men will buy ginger instead of slaves." On another occasion I asked the chief Laguba (he is in the place of a king, without the title) what sum of money was annually expended in the purchase of tobacco from the slave traders. He replied: "I am unable to

calculate the amount." I asked again: "What would you do if Englishmen were to send you a person to teach your people to cultivate tobacco?" He replied he would not sell slaves to purchase it. He seemed moved by my last question, as if a new and bright prospect had been unfolded to him; but another thought quickly followed, which seemed to cloud the opening view, and to which he thus gave utterance: "If Englishmen would do so, do not let it be known, for the people on the seacoast will use every means to prevent his entrance into the country." The hope thus raised he did not permit to pass away without an effort to obtain the desired blessing; for, in a letter which he addressed to the Queen of England, he made it one of his requests that her Majesty would send him a person to teach his people to cultivate sugar, tobacco, &c.

It is obvious, I think, that in obtaining a position in Abbeokuta we obtain a position in the heart of the slave trade; and in the good will of the people, which we undoubtedly have, we possess the means of extending civilization and Christianity, to the destruction of the slave trade, as well as of all other evils that have afflicted Africa. I think it is not less obvious that the first link in the chain of providential events (as far as we are concerned in it) that has brought this about was the liberation of the people of the Egba country by the British squadron. Had this link been wanting I cannot see how the succeeding events could have taken place. I conceive, also, that to be in a position to obtain moral influence in Africa cannot be too highly valued; and this, it must be remembered, has been obtained in one part through the exertions of the cruisers, and God working providentially with them. And who can say that what has taken place in one part of Africa shall not, by a similar instrumentality, take place in many others? It is only for England to continue her work of justice and mercy to see her efforts crowned by the most complete success.

I should not omit noticing one act of service rendered us by the cruisers. The establishment of an English factory at Badagry, (see note c)—the formation of which was assisted by some of the first of the liberated Africans who returned to their country—was a source of great annoyance to the slave traders; and on one occasion the Europeans in Badagry were desired to leave the place, as the slave traders would not come because Englishmen were there. Knowing that some of the chiefs of Badagry were negotiating with some Brazilian slave merchants to come there, we were advised by others to obtain help from the cruisers. This we were obliged to do; and the assistance that we required was most promptly rendered, and our dwelling there rendered secure. Had the Brazilians obtained a footing in Badagry, which they would have done had not the cruisers interfered for our protection, we should have been obliged to abandon the place, and the only place open to us for access to the interior would have been closed.

3. As an offset to what the cruisers have done, it is declared that they do as much evil as good by increasing the horrors of the middle passage. This view of the case, were it true, appears to me to be a very contracted one, and would be equally applicable to every effort used to suppress vice by punishing it. How many innocent persons have suffered on the gallows! and how many have suffered transportation and imprisonment! But would any one infer that, because such events have taken place, no penal efforts should be made to suppress vice? But it is a historical fact that the horrors of the middle passage existed when every nation legalized

the slave trade. The slaves were then, according to the testimony of Talconbridge, "wedged in" in the slave ships "so that they had not as much room as a man in his coffin." We have, also, accounts of living slaves having been thrown overboard; not in the excitement of a chase, but more savagely—under a *pretence* that they had not water enough for the consumption of the whole, but *really* to obtain the price at which they were *insured*. Knowing, therefore, that the horrors of the middle passage existed before a single cruiser was sent to prevent the slave trade, it is most unjust to charge the preventive system with them; indeed, the horrors of the middle passage are but a part of the cruel system of trading in human beings, although they may be *occasionally* increased by the preventive system.

One instance of horror, given in evidence before a committee of the House of Commons, and related at an anti-slavery meeting, as an instance of one of the results of the preventive system, was to this effect: That 2,000 slaves were massacred in Lagos because the dealers were unable to ship them. This, if true, would be the strongest proof of the effectiveness of the cruisers. The slave traders who were thus obliged to destroy their victims would surely not purchase any more, knowing that they would be unable to ship them. But I have the strongest reasons for thinking that the whole story is a mistake, originating in a rebellion that took place in Lagos at about the same time that it is said the massacre of slaves was perpetrated. In this war two chiefs fought with each other for nearly three weeks; and it is said that 10,000 persons, slaves and freemen, fell in the conflict, and that after the conflict a large number of the prisoners taken by the conquering chief were slain. Living, as we did, near Lagos, and hearing all the news of that town, it could not have escaped our knowledge had 2,000 slaves been destroyed because they could not be shipped. Such a tale we never heard, and I therefore doubt its correctness.

The advocates for the removal of the cruisers profess to have a better scheme in view for the suppression of the slave trade. Would it not be better for them to leave the cruisers to pursue their allotted task, until, at least, the value of the new scheme be tested?

But some think the slave trade would die a natural death if left to pursue its detestable course unmolested. This is a theory for the suppression of crime, as novel as it is unjust and unchristian. Would those who think the slave trade is to be suppressed by permitting it to be carried on without a check like to have the principle tested in England first? Would they like to try if robbery in England can be suppressed by permitting it; expecting to see the market so glutted with stolen goods that thieves would become honest men because unable to sell the produce of their robbery? The cases are parallel: slaves are stolen men; the sale of slaves or the slave trade, is a trade in stolen men; a glut in the slave market would be a glut in stolen men. And what is the difference between robbery being legalized in England and the slave trade being legalized wherever it can be pursued? and the difference between suppressing robbery in England, by permitting it, until stolen goods shall become so abundant as to produce a glut in the market, and suppressing the slave trade by permitting it to go on unrestrained until the market shall be overstocked with slaves? The only difference is, one is the robbery of mere goods, and the other is the robbery of mankind, whom God has made free.

Those who wish to see the cruisers withdrawn are desirous, doubtless, to see fair and legitimate traffic introduced into Africa; but it must be remembered that the African slave trade is that sort of trade which, from its nature, must destroy all fair trade. It is supposed that when the restrictions upon the slave trade are removed, the jealousy and animosity shown by the slave trader towards the English trader will cease, and fair trade will be able to introduce itself into haunts of the slave trade, and destroy it by the superior influence of honest over dishonest traffic. But when this thought is entertained, it is forgotten that the means by which fair trade is carried on are destroyed by the slave trade. 'The fair trader, we might suppose, obtains a footing at Lagos; he there dwells without molestation from the Brazilian or native slave dealer, and seeks to dispose of his merchandise for the produce of African soil. We can further imagine that some peaceful negroes, desirous of earning their subsistence honestly, cultivate their ground in the hope of selling its produce to the fair trader. In the mean time, however, the price offered by the slave merchant for slaves has influenced other negroes, who are only desirous to make haste to be rich, and care not by what means they obtain wealth. These go to the farms, because there the people are scattered and few, and when their opportunity comes they fall upon the farmers and make them their prey. Herein the life of their traffic is destroyed, and that without remedy. The honorable merchant dwells in the same town, and in peace with the slave merchant; but what is the advantage of it, when he is unable to protect the honest farmer's life and liberty while pursuing his peaceful avocations? I need not bring forth proofs of this, for it is but the natural result of the slave trade; but I will relate one event that took place in Abbeokuta to illustrate what I say:

The chiefs and people of Abbeokuta passed a law to prohibit kidnapping, under the most solemn sanction of their most dreaded god. One of them, however, under the influence and in the pay of the chief of Lagos, dissented, and in about three weeks afterwards he carried war into a neighboring and peaceful country; then followed retaliation. A party of the aggrieved people suddenly attacked the farms of the people of Abbeokuta, and made slaves of many of the farmers; and those who escaped were obliged to abandon their farms and the produce they hoped to raise on them. The well-meaning chiefs of Abbeokuta were obliged to look upon this in silence; they had not sufficient moral or physical courage to overcome the wrath of Lagos.

If the slave trade be permitted to have free course, what an impulse will be given to transactions base as this! and how thoroughly will the desire, now awakening in Africa, to be free from this vile traffic, be crushed! and how vain will it be then to think of lawful trade! Will men endanger their lives by cultivating the soil? Will they seek the palm nut in the woods when they know a price is set upon their heads? The peaceful and industrious are those who suffer most by this vile trade, those whom we could hope would exercise a wholesome influence upon the habits of their weaker and misled country people; and in the destruction of these there is the destruction of all fair trade. I may here remark, that those who wish for the withdrawing of the squadron had no personal experience of the dangers attending a residence in the midst of the slave trade. They do not contemplate that the withdrawing of the cruisers would (unless God himself interpose, which we have no right to expect when the means

he has appointed for the suppression of evils like these are withheld) involve in it the destruction of all efforts to civilize and christianize Africa. To show that this is no idle fear, I will relate what has taken place to people in our employ while engaged in their lawful business:

A man named Lewis, employed by us as a messenger and carrier between Badagry and Abbeokuta, on his return to Badagry, was attacked by an armed band of kidnappers. Some of those travelling with him were killed, and some made slaves; but he and one or two more escaped, with the loss of their property. Another individual in my employ sent by me to Badagry was, with the party with whom he was travelling, attacked. Two women were mortally wounded; but the travellers resisted, and drove away their assailants. A man sent to me in Abbeokuta, on his return was kidnapped. Some women who were occasionally employed by us, and who sometimes lodged in my house in Abbeokuta, were kidnapped on one of their return journeys. Our messenger, Lewis, in company with another man, while bringing letters to me, was pursued and fired at: they escaped. The same party the day before attacked a party of, I believe, five. One of those who escaped of these five was fallen in with by our messenger, weak and wounded, and was assisted by him on his way. Soon afterwards I had occasion to travel the same road, and providentially arrived safely. But a party of twenty that followed a day or two afterwards were attacked, and half of their number never reached home. On my return journey, kidnappers were lurking about for us; but the strength of the party—about six hundred persons—prevented an attack. These attacks were made to obtain slaves. They were natural results of the slave trade; and that, too, while the trade is burdened and oppressed by the preventive squadron. To what extent might we not expect these deeds of violence to be carried, if the check now put upon the slave trade were removed? The removal of the cruisers would be followed by such a rush to obtain slaves, that a price would be set upon every man's head, and no human being would be safe. The personal dangers of those engaged in missionary work would not be only those common dangers which beset all alike—such as I have related—and increased by the additional impetus given to the slave trade, but would involve the additional danger accruing to us from being left to stem the current of iniquity alone. Our danger, I must repeat, would not be the common danger that every one must expect from living in a country given up to ruin; but it would be a danger resulting from the opposition that, upon principle, we must make to the vile schemes of the white slave-trader. And could we expect to find mercy in the hands of those whose trade is crime—whose only check would be what they might meet from us—when, too, our own country has confessed her inability to stem the torrent of their iniquity? The more successful we might be amongst the natives, the more surely we should excite the opposition of the slave-trader, because we should thereby be successful in our opposition to his traffic; and no effort would be spared by him to remove the objects of his hatred. *Now*, the slave-trader fears to give the cruisers a just cause for invading his mart. He knows that they wait for such a cause, and would be but too glad to avail themselves of it.

Another consideration forces itself upon us, and it is one of no mean importance to England, inasmuch as the moral condition of British subjects is of paramount importance to her. It is, How are British subjects to be



prevented from engaging in the slave trade if the cruisers be removed? Direct participation in the slave trade by English sailors and merchants has been prevented by the squadron, and much demoralization to them thereby prevented; but what check would remain to hinder the evil-disposed of our countrymen joining heart and hand in this traffic, if the cruisers were removed? One or two cruisers would be sent, it may be, to watch over British interests in the African seas; but what could they do to prevent British participation in so extensively diffused an evil?

There is another consideration that should not be forgotten. The British West Indies have been much injured by admitting the produce of slave labor into our markets. How much more would they be injured—indeed, would it not be attended by their complete ruin—if the present hindrance to the slave trade were removed, by which the slave is of necessity so much dearer, and the produce of his labor by natural consequences, likewise? If the slave trade were free, some might hope, under the plea of purchasing slaves in Africa in order to liberate them in the West Indies, to partake in the general spoil; but it cannot be credited that the honest and humane feelings of England are so far paralyzed as to permit so foul a blot to be upon her fair name. England may be deceived, may be mistaken, for a time; but when the time that discovers the mistake comes, reaction, with just indignation, will follow.

It is not only England's *duty* to suppress the slave trade, but her best *interest* likewise. The civilization of Africa, which has been prevented by the slave trade, would cause millions of human beings to become consumers of English merchandise. The disposition so often manifested by the negro—his fondness for tawdry finery—needs but to receive a bias from the example of civilized men, to become a taste for the conveniences and elegancies of civilized life. I have seen this exemplified in my intercourse with them.

The chief of Abbeokuta, who has shown the greatest fondness for finery, is the man who has first attempted to imitate our mode of building houses; the first to have door-ways to admit of men walking through them erect; the first to have windows for light and air; the first to floor his rooms with boards; and the first to covet glass windows and paint for his house. His love of finery is here seen expending itself upon objects of real utility and comfort. This desire for articles of utility is not confined to a man or a class of men. The native carpenter, seeing the superior tools used by the Sierra Leone carpenters, seeks to obtain them; the man long accustomed to see planks *split* from the log of timber, desires to acquire the art of *sawing* timber; the man accustomed to have a door rudely made of *hewn* wood, desires to have one neatly put together and planed; a bag formerly served to put clothes in—now, boxes are desired. In these things the negro's disposition to be fine above his neighbor puts itself forth in the most desirable objects. Thus we can discern how Africa may become a market for English merchandise.

The belief that so universally prevails that the negroes are too indolent to exert themselves for their own good, is one of the errors arising out of the slave trade. Their markets are supplied with all the necessaries of life in abundance. They carry on a very extensive international trade, and at a great risk of losing liberty or life in it. The instances already mentioned, showing the danger of travelling in Africa, prove this. These things will surely show that they are not so indolent as people are led to

believe. What better proof can be rendered of industrious habits than market always stocked with the necessities of life?

When a country like this is torn asunder by slave wars, and when people like these are dragged into slavery, it is clearly a loss to the common welfare of mankind. Had they but liberty, were they but free from the slave trade, they would raise the produce of the soil for our country, and take our manufactures in return; but their efforts to raise the produce of the soil being constantly thwarted by the slave trade wars, and contracted for want of a more extensive market, it is indeed a wonder that they are not a heart broken, dejected people, subsisting upon the barest necessities of life.

How much, too, are the interests of mankind wronged, when, to make one slave, two persons are destroyed. One slave thus becomes the compensation for what would be, but for the slave trade, three human beings, producers for the good of others, and consumers, for their own comfort and welfare, of the produce of other countries.—(See note *d*.)

Therefore, I conceive that England, influenced by every motive that should govern the actions of an enlightened nation, should continue—nay, redouble—her efforts to suppress the slave trade; influenced by motives of justice to undo the evils in which she has participated; by motives of humanity, to relieve a suffering portion of mankind from the bondage of a cruel system; by motives of self interest, our own honest trade being injured by the basest monopoly that ever existed; and by love to God, whose laws are constantly broken, through this nefarious trade.

H. TOWNSEND.

P. S.—I am aware that other considerations might be adduced to show how unadvisable it would be to withdraw the cruisers. I have, however, only brought forward those which have presented themselves to me in connexion with the morality of the question, and such as have forced themselves upon me in a personal experience of the working of the slave trade in Africa.

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#### NOTES.

(*a*.) Abbeokuta, in latitude  $7^{\circ} 8''$  north, is a town of not fewer than 50,000 inhabitants, about 50 geographical miles from the sea, and 56 from Badagry. It is calculated that 3,000 liberated Africans from Sierra Leone have proceeded thither. Churches and schools have been built, which are in charge of three clergymen of the Church of England; of whom, one is the writer of this letter, (now at home,) and another is the Rev. S. Crowther, a native of the Yomba country. When a boy he was taken to the coast as a slave, and shipped in a slave vessel, which was seized by her Majesty's ship "Myrmidon," Captain (now Sir Henry) Leeke, and carried to Sierra Leone, where he was educated by the Church Missionary Society. He was subsequently brought to England, and ordained by the bishop of London. Soon after his return to Africa he was sent to Abbeokuta, where he had the happiness to discover his mother and two sisters, a brother, and other relations, after an absence of about 25 years.

H. D. TROTTER.

(b.) Lagos, in the Bight of Benin, is the town on the coast which is nearest to Abbeokuta, being about 50 miles distant. It was here where the first party of liberated Africans landed from Sierra Leone. They met with great opposition from the slave dealers, and were robbed of the whole of their property in Lagos, and on their way to Abbeokuta, by the Lagos people.

TROTTER.

(c.) Badagry, a town on the coast, a few leagues to the westward of Lagos, and about 56 geographical miles from Abbeokuta. Most of the liberated Africans from Sierra Leone landed there on their way to Abbeokuta. Clapperton and Lander landed here, and subsequently the two Landers, on their several journeys into the interior.

TROTTER.

(d.) On this point Mr. Townsend was asked for further particulars. In his reply he stated: "I obtained my information respecting the loss to Africa of three individuals to every slave employed in America, from Sir T. F. Buxton's work, 'The African Slave Trade and its Remedy.' He states, p. 200, that out of ten stolen in Africa, three only become available for labor in America after 12 months' residence there. I have no doubt that this result is correct; but to be within the mark, I say one in three."

Sir T. Buxton arrived at this conclusion from calculating the mortality consequent on the seizure in the interior; march to the coast; detention there; middle passage; loss after capture; loss after landing, and in seasoning.

Mr. Townsend then proceeds: "There are collateral evils and losses that it is difficult to estimate; for instance, polygamy has been enormously increased by the slave trade, and with it the births of children have enormously decreased. That polygamy has increased needs not further proof than a reference to the well-known fact, that a large proportion of the slaves imported into America are males; a large disproportion of the sexes must, therefore, exist in Africa. Two instances of the results of polygamy I am enabled to give. It was said that Sodeke had 600 wives and 200 children; thus, 200 children are to represent, in the next generation, these 600 wives of Sodeke. Saglura, the present chief, had, it was said, 50 wives, and I could not satisfactorily ascertain that he had as many as 10 children; indeed, I knew but *one*, and that one died; I heard of another, and that died also.

"I endeavored to ascertain what births there were among the people generally in proportion to the number of wives, and I came to the conclusion that there could not be a child to every adult person in Abbeokuta. A large number of women had no children, a large number but one or two, and a large number had lost all their children by death. One woman came to me for medicine for her infant, her sixth child, the only one alive, and this one not at all likely to live, from *general weakness*. To show the comparative number of children in Sierra Leone and Abbeokuta respectively, I can only refer to one instance; but it was generally remarked by the natives that the Sierra Leone people had many children. Mr. Crowther had two sisters by the same mother—one nearly his own age, and the other much younger; these have two children each, while Mr. Crowther has six. I think the same general result would be obtained could

I get correct information of a larger number of instances. The cause of all this, I have no hesitation in saying, is the slave trade; for among its results may be mentioned polygamy, greatly increased sufferings, privations, alarms, anxieties, labor, and other evils. These surely are enough to affect the increase of the population of any country."

## I.

*Sailing directions along the coast of Liberia, extracted from the directions of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 1849*

169. From Manna Point the coast runs nearly in a straight line SE.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E., for about 60 miles to the entrance of the river Gallinas; and, though low and sandy, it is free from shoals and steep-to, with very regular soundings from the offing.

The action of the surf from without, and of the current of the rivers Gallinas and Solyman from within, has had the effect of throwing up a thin barrier of sand, five or six miles in length, and of thus forming between it and the shore a long narrow lagoon, with several low sandy islands, now covered with trees.

One or two shifting openings in this barrier allow the escape of the river water; and through them are the only channels by which boats can communicate with the lagoon and the shore.

The principal entrance at present is at the western elbow of Kamasoun island, from whence a narrow channel will be found through the surf round either its north or south point, as may be seen in the plan. The soundings from the offing are regular, and vessels may anchor at a mile outside the above island in seven fathoms.

Gallinas was long notorious as a slave market, and the former establishments for that purpose still exist on the south point of the river, as well as on Taro island, which lies close to its entrance.

*The Solyman has the appearance of a considerable river; but at the period of the survey it was inaccessible, except through the narrow opening into the lagoon already mentioned. A small wooded island stands conspicuously in its mouth.*

Six miles to the southeast of the Solyman, we come to the entrance of the small river Manna, which, though nearly closed by sand pits from both sides, affords access to boats.

In nearly the same direction, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles further, is Manna Point, low and rocky, with many scattered rocks both above and under water out to a third of a mile from the shore.

170. Eight miles south of Manna Point is Cape Mount—the coast between them forming a bay about two miles in depth, into which flow the Sugury and Cape Mount rivers. These streams have their entrances almost closed up by long narrow strips of sand, similar to that fronting the Gallinas and Solyman, and, like them, are at times open to boats. On the shores of this bay, the colored American settlers from Liberia have established several small factories, principally for the trade in cam-wood.

171. The headland of Cape Mount consists of several hills, which rise

to the height of 1,060 feet above the sea, and which at a distance have the appearance of a large island. The western point of the cape is in latitude  $6^{\circ} 44' 25''$  N., and longitude  $11^{\circ} 23' 15''$  W.; and the base of the mount, from thence for three miles to the southeastward, is formed by a succession of rocky points and small sandy bays. There the coast again sinks into a low continuous beach of light brown sand; one universal forest prevailing over the entire face of the country up to the summit of the cape, and extending without intermission to Cape Mesurado.

About half way between these capes there is a considerable stream, with the quaint name of Half Cape Mount river; but in the dry season it is quite closed, by a bank of sand across its mouth. Eight miles further, an insignificant stream is dignified with the name of the Po; and, within four miles of Cape Mesurado, there is a wide fine river which is called after St. Paul. Half way between them there are a few scattered rocks, which extend out a quarter of a mile from the beach. From the south point of the St. Paul, a dry sandy spit shoots out to the northwest; and from thence a shallow bar curves inwards towards the northern shore, leaving a narrow channel for boats, with seven feet in it at low water. On the banks of the river and along the shore there are several native villages and some American factories, as well as a large settlement at Caldwell.

172. At full and change on this part of the coast, it is high water at 4h. 45m., and the rise of the tide is three feet.

173. Three miles to the southward of the St. Paul, the river Mesurado issues from behind the cape of the same name. Its entrance is rendered uncertain both in depth and direction; for the sand banks yield alternately to the western swell and to the heavy freshes produced by the periodic rains, breaking through sometimes close to the foot of the cape and sometimes half a mile to the northward, but generally leaving from three to nine feet on the bar. Stockton creek affords a back communication for boats between these two rivers, the banks of which, and the island they include, contain several thriving villages of American settlers; but the principal establishment is the town of Monrovia, which stands on the southern side of the Mesurado, immediately under the mount; and which, making a fair allowance for the reverses that occur in all young colonies, seems to offer a successful issue to the benevolent experiment of the Colonization Society in behalf of the colored population of the United States.

174. On full and change days of the moon it is high water at six o'clock, and the rise of tide is 3 feet 6 inches.

175. The NW. point of the peninsula of Mesurado is in latitude  $6^{\circ} 19' 36''$  N., and longitude  $10^{\circ} 49' 30''$  W. It stands high in comparison with the adjacent land; and on its summit, which is 240 feet above the sea, a light-house has been erected, exhibiting a revolving light of a red color. It stands in  $6^{\circ} 19' 15''$  N., and longitude  $10^{\circ} 49' 25''$  W.

Wood and water can be procured here; but it is necessary to obtain the sanction of the authorities before sending Kroomen for the former, in order to avoid any trespass. The *Ætna's* boats watered in the river, about two miles up, filling their casks from the stream. Fresh meat, vegetables, and sundry small stores are occasionally to be had from the

settlers at the town. The cape is composed of rocks covered with vegetation, and is steep-to; but the soundings are regular, and the bottom a fine light-brown sand.

The usual anchorage for large vessels is in seven fathoms, with the cape S. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., light-house S.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W., and the middle of the town SE.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S.

176. From Cape Mesurado to the SE. the coast line is formed by a sandy beach, and the whole country is covered with forest. At nine miles to the southeastward from the cape we come to a low point, round which a few rocks lie scattered, and close within the point there is a little rising ground. From thence to the Junk river the same low coast continues, with some back water between the trees and the beach, forming long, narrow lakes, with a few shallow outlets to the sea, and into which several rivulets appear to drain the waters of the adjacent country. Two hillocks lie behind the largest of these lagoons, named the Crown and the Cock's Comb. Ten miles SSE.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. of the latter, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  mile from the shore, there lies a rocky patch, called the Hoopers; it is of an irregular form, about a mile in length, and the least depth of water on it is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 3 fathoms. About a mile and a half further to the SE. there is another, but very small, three-fathoms patch, from which Marshall Point bears ENE.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile, and Bassa Point SE. The ground immediately round it is coarse, and in some places foul; but inside of it the bottom shoals gradually up to four fathoms at the steep edge of the bar which fronts the Little Bassa and Junk rivers. To avoid these patches, as well as the Hoopers, vessels passing along shore should not come within the ten fathoms line.

177. From Marshall Point a tongue of sand, partly dry and partly covered with violent breakers, stretches three-quarters of a mile to the southward; and close round the edge of these breakers the entrance to Junk river crosses the bar. On the bar there are only four feet at low water, and the channel is very narrow, but inside it deepens to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 2 fathoms by steering towards the eastern shore round the hook at the extreme end of the tongue.

Marshall, one of the Liberian settlements, stands on the west side of the river about a mile from the bar; and abreast of it there are three and three and a half fathoms.

The mouth of the Little Bassa river is a mile SSE. of Marshall Point, but it is so effectually blocked up by the prolongation of the sandy tongue from that point, which is forced into it by the action of the surf, that it is inaccessible even to boats: vessels may anchor off either of those rivers in seven or eight fathoms on a clear bottom of sand and mud.

Bassa Point is a little rocky cliff thickly wooded, with sandy bays on either side. Inland from it ten miles, and bearing ENE.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., there is a remarkable hill called the Saddle, which rises 1,070 feet above the sea, and appears to be the western extremity of a range of high land extending twenty-four miles in a SE. direction to Mount St. John. Nine miles to the SE. of Bassa Point we come to Middle Bassa, where there is another Liberian factory; and two miles farther to Long Reef Point, so named from a barrier of rocks which stretches along shore nearly four miles, and to seaward three cable's lengths. The ground in the vicinity is all foul; and about S. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., two miles from the point, in the stream

of ten fathoms, there is a sunken rock with only four and a quarter fathoms.

Between Bassa Point and Long Reef Point there are some pent up waters and lagoons at the back of the beach, and about one and a half mile from the former point there is a small red and white cliff, which renders the spot remarkable.

178. A slightly inflected coast, wooded throughout, but apparently populous, reaches from Long Reef Point to Grand Bassa Point in eleven miles. Two miles and a half short of the latter a considerable river, the St. John, and two smaller streams, the Mechlin and Benson, discharge themselves through one opening into the sea. The American colonists of Liberia have two small settlements here, Edina to the eastward of the opening, and Grand Bassa on the opposite bank. As usual with almost all the rivers on this coast, the entrance is blocked up by a very shallow bar, the least dangerous passage over which is close to the sandy shoulders of Macdowell Point. Inside, the water deepens to two and three fathoms abreast of each of the settlements. About a mile outside, or W. by S. of the opening, there is good anchorage in six or seven fathoms black mud; but further to the westward there are several patches of foul ground, and one dangerous reef, the Niobe, on which the sea breaks furiously. Its outer edge is a mile off shore, and bears NW. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. from the southern houses of Grand Bassa settlement, so that vessels standing in should not bring them to the southward of ESE.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E.

To the southward of Macdowell Point the shore recedes a little, forming Waterhouse bay, which is full of detached rocks and reefs. The northernmost of them (the Snapper) lies half a mile from Waterhouse Point, and always breaks.

From Grand Bassa Point the Dhout ridge of rocks projects a quarter of a mile to the northwest; and at the same distance farther out, a sunk reef, called the Yellow Will, assists in repelling the sea from the little nook called Bassa Cove. The Bissaw river runs into this cove; but it is an insignificant stream, and inaccessible to boats.

179. It is high water here at full and change at 5h. 50m., and rises four feet.

180. About five miles SSE.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. from Grand Bassa Point we come to Tobocannee, a large native village, the coast in the interval being thickly wooded, and bounded by a waving line of small rocky points and sandy bays. Nearly a mile beyond the village the land assumes the shape of a low, angular point, with a projecting reef, which ends in a detached block of stone a few feet above water, called the Tobocannee Rock; and further out, about a mile west by south from the point, there is a sunken rock, on which the sea constantly breaks.

Continuing to the southeastward the coast is in general rocky, with some sandy bays between the points; and these are fronted by numerous reefs, which extend off in some places half a mile from the shore, but leaving a boat channel within them. These reefs reach seven miles along the coast, as far as Trade Town; but their continuity is broken at Young Sesters—a place with which trading vessels sometimes communicate; and the same opening admits boats to pass inside of the reefs to New Sess river, the mouth of which is always accessible to canoes.

181. Trade Town is large and populous; it lies on the western bank of a small river about four miles from Young Sesters, and has both an

American and an English factory. SSE. from that place nearly two miles, and about a mile from the shore, there is a single detached rock on which the sea always breaks.

Little Culloh river is small, but accessible to boats, and fresh water may be obtained there from both wells and springs; and at the town there is a good landing under the shelter of a rocky point. Three quarters of a mile SSE. of the town and a long cable from the shore there is a sunken rock; and further on, in nearly the same direction, but more than half a mile off shore, there are two other rocks, with an inner channel of three fathoms. The coast behind these rocks, about Monkey Peak, rises in rocky cliffs to forty and sixty feet above the sea, with large irregular blocks of granite on the beach, over which the sea breaks heavily.

182. The entrance of Grand Culloh river is closed by rocks and sands; and from thence the shore becomes low and undulating, with a coast-line formed by numerous rocky points and sandy bays; off which, at distances varying from an eighth to a quarter of a mile, many detached rocks will be found, but with a passage for boats inside of them. Off Errick, close to the northwestward of Grand Culloh, there is a large black rock from which a reef runs off to the shore.

183. The river Tembo is a small stream half a mile to the northward of Tembo Point, and is only at times accessible to boats. There is a small British trading factory at Tembo; and the place is easily recognised by Tobacco Mount, a conical hill 880 feet high.

From Tembo to Grand Cestos the coast is low and thickly wooded, with a sandy beach and some straggling rocks. The Fen and Manna, two small streams, lie in the above space; the former is nearly closed by a ledge of black rocks, but canoes can get in and out by keeping close to the shore on the western side of them; and at the mouth of the Manna may be seen the remains of an old factory.

Three-quarters of a mile SSW. of the Fen there is a rocky patch, which breaks; others lie to the eastward of it, and the soundings are very irregular for five miles between them and the Manna rocks. The latter lie more than a mile from the shore, and show themselves a little above water; but there are several sunken rocks in their vicinity, on which the sea breaks: one bearing N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. six-tenths of a mile, another NE. half a mile, a third E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. six-tenths of a mile, and others more than a mile S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E.; but all of them may be avoided by keeping outside in the stream of twelve fathoms.

184. Three miles beyond the Manna rocks brings us to Cestos, another Liberian settlement for enfranchised slaves, but where Mr. Spence, an English merchant, has long had a factory. It stands at the entrance of the river, on St. George Point, from whence the bar curves round to the northern shore with a terrific surf. In the middle of the bar there is a patch of rocks, which divides the channel into two parts; but in neither of them are there more than nine feet at high water. The rainy season, however, produces such fluctuations in the spits which project from the patch, or from the opposite points, that it is always advisable to employ a native to pilot the boat. After crossing the bar the water deepens to two and a half and three fathoms, but again shoals when past the narrows to one and a quarter and one fathom.

In Cestos bay the soundings are irregular, both in depth and quality, but generally consist of coarse brown sand or black mud; and convenient



anchorage in five and a half and six fathoms will be found, with St. George Point SE. about three-quarters of a mile, and Cestos Point south. Wood and water may be easily obtained here.

It is high water at Fen and Cestos at five hours twenty minutes, and rises four feet.

Off Cestos Point there is much foul ground; a broad reef projects from it of half a mile in length; a single rock, with three feet on it, lies just outside the reef; SSW., a long mile from the point, a schooner is said to have struck in eleven feet, though five fathoms was the least depth the surveying boats could find; and Spence Rock, on which there are two fathoms, and the sea, therefore, usually breaks, lies a mile and a quarter W.  $\frac{2}{3}$  S. from the point, and WSW.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W. from the factory. The reef and all these rocks are the more dangerous because they are all so steep that the lead can give little or no warning. The plan shows their positions satisfactorily; yet, as no marks have been given, a stranger should employ a pilot in entering the bay for the first time. A vessel passing along the coast may avoid them all by keeping outside of fourteen fathoms.

185. From Cestos Point southeastward to Rock Cess factory the coast forms a sandy bay, but interrupted by two small rivers—the Pooah, three and a half miles from the point, and the Pobamo, six miles. The former is quite closed by rocks and sand in the dry season, but during the rains it is entered by canoes. The Pobamo carries six feet water, and may be entered close to the beach on the NW. side, where the water is tolerably smooth, being there sheltered by a ledge of rocks which stretches out from the SE. point of the entrance and forms a kind of natural breakwater. Outside of this ledge, and reaching all the way to Rock Cess factory, with a passage inside of it for boats, there is a broad reef, which terminates about a mile WNW. of the mouth of the Pobamo. And again: outside of this reef there are several rocks, two of which always show; first, the Pobamo Rock, which is low and black, the end of the breakwater ledge bearing from it E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. one and two-thirds mile, and adjacent to this Pobamo Rock there is a small sunken danger bearing NE. of it half a mile, and another NW.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N.; secondly, the White Rock, standing eight feet above water, and, like the others which have been described, steep-to and detached from its neighbors.

A small river runs into the sea at Rock Cess Point, where the factory will be seen, a little further to the SE.; and a mile beyond the factory, the New river. The intermediate bay is sprinkled with concealed rocks, though boats will find four and five fathoms between them; and it is sheltered by an extensive reef, with several black rocks which retain their Portuguese name—the Diabolitos. Foul ground with irregular soundings reach out for fully two miles to seaward of that reef; and though nothing less than three fathoms was found, yet on the two patches where “4” and “5” are inserted in the chart the sea was seen to break.

186. A mile from the New river there is another rivulet, but without a practicable entrance; and two miles further a long spit has been formed by the Broonee river, which is seen over it running in a parallel line to the coast for upwards of a mile and a half. In the rainy season, however, the freshes occasionally break through the heel of the spit and convert it into a long, narrow island. The entrance is always open to light boats and canoes, though much obstructed by rocks and sands.

There are several rocks off the Broonee, both above and under water;

Ex.—7

the most conspicuous of them is the, Baï Yah, standing 60 feet above the sea, and capped with dark shrubs, at a distance of a long mile from the shore. To the northward of it there are three sunken patches of rocks, which generally break. To the eastward, between it and a factory belonging to Mr. Spence, there is a cluster of dry rocks, with a detached reef more to the southward, and outside of it there are four other patches. The first, which is dry, lies half a mile to the SW.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.; the second bears SW.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. more than a mile distant, and of some extent, but part of it shows above water; the third, bearing W. SW.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., and nearly a mile and a half off, is small, but carries only 3 feet water; and the fourth, NW. by N., not quite a mile, is only seen by its breakers.

To the eastward of Spence's factory the coast forms a sudden bight, where there was till lately a similar trading establishment called Murray's factory; and then, after passing the small river Coozoo, and two miles along a straight sandy beach, we come to the Sangwin, which is one of the principal streams that water this part of the coast. At first sight it is difficult to perceive the entrance, as a long ledge of rocks from the eastern point, and a high sandy spit from the northern point, seem both to cross over to the opposite shores; but a reference to the plan will show that it is possible to carry 10 feet water into the river by keeping in the best channel, which will be found between Wilson point on the east and the rocky patch a quarter of a mile to the westward of it. The channel is very narrow, and on rounding Wilson point it deepens to five fathoms till the narrows are passed.

Towards the last quarter of the ebb tide, the water at Sangwin point on the north side, just within the entrance, is fresh and good; and when the bar is smooth, it will be found a convenient place for obtaining wood and water.

187. It is high water here at the full and change, a quarter past 5 o'clock, and the springs rise about 6 feet.

188. Close to the east of the Sangwin and just within the beach, there is a lagoon with three branches, which, in the rainy season, are probably connected with the river.

Baffou point lies nearly 5 miles SSE. from the mouth of the Sangwin, the intermediate coast bending inwards so as to form a deep bay, into which two small rivers discharge themselves, close behind the point, and in which there is much foul ground, though the beach seems to be generally clean. Vessels working along shore should not make too free with this bay, for Baffou rock, on which there are but 12 feet, lies in the stream of the point, bearing from it NW.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N. 2 miles, and from Wilson point, at the mouth of the Sangwin, S.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E.  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles. The northernmost of the two rivers is called the Baffnee, and possesses a 6-foot, though very narrow, entrance; the other is closed by a shallow sand bar from side to side; and both rivers are connected by one of those narrow lagoons which are so common on this coast. Baffou point should not be approached within half a mile to the westward, as there is a sunken rock off its pitch; another lies close to the southward of it, and irregular reefs of nearly a mile in length project to the northward. A fair anchorage, however, may be taken in 8 fathoms in mud and sand, with the point SE.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., about a mile distant.

189. From Baffou point it is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles SE. to Tassou. A low and thickly-wooded country lies between them, with several streams of water

barred up by the beach; and many confused heaps of rocks lie strewed along the shore, as well as at a short distance in the offing.

About this part of the coast the Krou country begins, and its inhabitants, whose superior industry and docile habits, when compared with other African tribes, are proverbially known, seemed very numerous. Parties came off from every village expressing a great desire to trade, and displaying their little wares, among which, it was observed that their fishing lines made from the fibres of the palm tree were uncommonly strong and neat.

Between Tassou and the next point of land issues the small river Too-bah, in front of which there is a high rocky ledge which divides the channel; the western branch is the safest, but at low water there are not more in it than 3 feet.

Off Tassou, and in the stream of 9 or 10 fathoms, there is a long range of rocks and dangers; three of them are above water—the Shah, the Wya, and the Keoba. The Shah lies 2 miles WNW.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W. from Tassou point; there is deep water around it, except to the northward, in which direction breakers extend about 300 yards.

The Wya bears SSE.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. from the Shah, not quite two miles, and SW. by W. from Tassou Point; it is a large block of rock, with reefs of half a mile in length, both to the northward and southward.

Upwards of a mile to the SE. from that southern reef, and S. by W.  $\frac{1}{3}$  W. from Tassou Point, there is a single rock, with nine feet over it; and at another mile, still farther to the SE., the large dry rock called the Keoba shows itself. SE. one mile from the Keoba, there are breakers; and three miles SSE.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. from it, with Bouton Point bearing W. by N., lies Yule rock, the last link of this chain of dangers, which extends almost seven miles from the Shah, in a direction nearly parallel to the coast.

190. Little Bootou is a large village, upwards of two miles SE. from Tassou Point, and four miles farther is Grand Bootou on a projecting point of the coast, behind which is the mouth of the Bootou river. In the space included between the line of the Keoba and Yule rocks and the shore, and between the two Bootous, the general depth is six, seven, and eight fathoms, but interspersed with many rocks, the particular description and positions of which would be useless. The shore is likewise strewn with large rocks. Several small rivulets spend themselves in the sandy beach, and the whole coast is densely peopled.

Grand Bootou Point is easily known by its projecting form, by its town, and by a hill a mile to the eastward, which, with the lofty trees that cover it, measures 265 feet in height. The river winds round between the foot of this hill, after having run for several miles parallel to the shore, and is apparently a branch of the river Sinou. A few rocks hang about Grand Bootou Point, but from thence to Sinou bay the coast, though low, has a clean sandy beach, and between Yule rock and Bloobarra Point there are no detached shoals, so that vessels may stand in with safety; but the soundings are irregular, with occasional patches of rocky ground, requiring care in anchoring.

191. Bloobarra Point forms the southern extremity of Sinou bay; it is composed of three small rocky points, with sandy bays between them. The North Point, at the mouth of the river, is about 57 feet high; the middle point, on which there is a small English factory, is 41 feet; and the land rises from the south point to 60 feet. About 80 fathoms north of

North Point there is a dry patch of rock called the Allens, leaving a clear passage between them and the point into Sinou river; another open passage will be found between the Allens and Middle Reef, and a third between it and North Reef, which stretches nearly across to the northern shore. These reefs were the only dangers discovered in Sinou bay; and vessels may safely anchor half a mile WNW. of Bloobarra Point in eight fathoms, but the bottom should be previously tried, for it contains several small foul patches, though generally a clean sand.

There are three channels by which boats may enter Sinou river—between North Point and the Allens, between the Allens and a large oval sand bank to the eastward of them, and between that bank and Fishtown beach. The first is the best; and by rounding North Point pretty closely, they may carry five or six feet over the bar at low water. The bar is very narrow, and when crossed, the river suddenly deepens to three and four fathoms, but shoals again quickly after hanting up round Fishtown Point, to the northward, where the deepest water will be found close along the Fishtown shore. Water and wood may be obtained here.

192. It is high water at full and change, about 5 o'clock, and the springs rise six feet.

193. The English factory on Bloobarra Point stands in  $4^{\circ} 59' 15''$  N. and  $9^{\circ} 2' 5''$  W., and the curve of  $20^{\circ}$  of west variation still seems to follow the line of the coast.

The American Colonization Society have built one of their Liberian factories on the right bank of the river, a little to the northward of Fishtown Point. Two miles to the southeastward of Bloobarra Point the beach is interrupted by a rocky projection, about a mile inland, of which a small round hill will be seen; but, with that exception, the coast preserves its straight, low, and sandy character for eleven miles to Little Krou, and is accompanied the whole way by a long, narrow lagoon, parallel to the shore, and separated from it only by a thin barrier or strip of sand. This lagoon is fed by two rivers—the Bloobah and the Plassa—and a single opening through the barrier serves as a common outlet to the sea for both of them. Little Krou river communicates, also, with the lagoon, but, in the rainy season, it forces an opening for itself through the barrier; from thence the coast bends outwards to the rocky point of Settra Krou.

194. In the eastern half of the interval we have just described, between Bloobarra Point and Settra Krou, there are several off-lying rocks, to which it is necessary to advert: 1. The westernmost of them lies a long mile from the beach, with Mount Plassa E. by N., and a little open to the left of the common opening of the Plassa and Kroubah rivers, which bears E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N.; it is very small, with six fathoms close around, and generally breaks. 2. S. by W. of the above opening, and WNW. of the large tree at Little Krou, there is a wide patch of rocks—some showing above water, some covered, and some only breaking, but all steep-to. 3. A mile further S. by W. than that patch, there is a single rocky head, which generally breaks; and, even if it should not show, it may be easily avoided by keeping the Krou rock (which shall be next described) always to the eastward of SE. 4. The Krou rock is a bare, irregular mass of stones, with five fathoms close around it, except to the eastward, where it is connected with other rocks and long reefs, which stretch over, in the form of an S, nearly to the point of Settra Krou. The outer mass bears W. by N. two miles from that point; and though it is sufficiently obvious during

the day, and the breakers generally audible at night, yet vessels are recommended after dark to keep in the stream of sixteen fathoms at least. 5. From the S-shaped reefs, connected with the Kron rock, other branches diverge to the NW. and NE., so as nearly to fill up the space between Little Kron and Settra Kron.

At Little Kron there is a palm-oil factory belonging to some English merchants, and ships' boats may conveniently land under the shelter of a ledge of rocks which projects from the point. The large tree which marks the position of this village stands on its eastern side, and may be plainly seen from the offing. At Settra Kron, likewise, there is a remarkable tree, which may be distinguished a long way off; and boats may land there safely on the north side of the point.

From Settra Kron, a length of three miles of beach, with long parallel ledges of dry rocks from the projecting points, leads us to the village and river of Kronbali, which in the rainy season is open, and at which cattle may be obtained. SSW. of Settra Kron, two-thirds of a mile, there is a rock which breaks, with seven fathoms close to it; a long mile W. by N. of Neatano Point there is another breaker in ten fathoms; and in the interval between those two rocks, but nearer to the shore, there are several detached shoals, with deep water close alongside.

Again: S. by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W., fully two and a half miles from Neatano, in the stream of fourteen fathoms, a rocky patch with eight fathoms over it was found; and a mile and a half ESE. of this rock, in the stream of eleven fathoms, the natives alleged that there is another and nearly a wash; and though the boats could not find it, nor the soundings indicate any rise in the ground, yet, on this extraordinary coast, it is very possible that such a rock may exist, as most of the dangers are steep-to. For these numerous rocks, vessels whose business leads them inshore must keep a sharp look-out; but those who are merely running along the coast are advised not to approach it within three or four miles, nor into water less than twenty-five fathoms.

From Neatano, three-quarters of a mile southeastward, lies Tooto Point, with a reef extending from it half a mile to the westward. From thence to Nanna Kron the coast is a low, sandy beach, with many rocks in front; and halfway between them is the outlet of the small river Delihew, with a lagoon behind the beach, about one mile and a half in length, which is fed by the two branches of this river.

195. From Nanna Kron the coast bends outward, forming King Will's bay; and near the centre of the bay there is a small islet about 15 feet high, covered with brushwood. The shore appears to be very populous, and two small English factories have been established here for the collection of palm oil, there being tolerably good landing near them on either side of the islet, which affords some little shelter. There are a few rocks two cable's length off the point of King Will's Town; and, again, off the point two-thirds of a mile further eastward, but inside of these latter rocks, there is a narrow three fathoms channel.

The western mouth of the Ooro river is three miles and a quarter to the southeastward of King Will's Point; the intermediate coast is low and sandy, with a lagoon inside of the beach; and a little further to the eastward there is a rocky patch three hundred yards from the shore, with a two and a half fathoms channel between them, and steep-to on its outer side.

196. A mile and a half SSW. of that patch lie the Swallow Rocks, consisting of two ledges, which generally break, and a four fathoms rock half a mile SW. of them. From the southern ledge, the above mentioned mouth of the Ooro bears NE. by E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E., and in one with a hill two hundred and sixty feet in height, which stands a couple of miles inshore. There are ten fathoms close to the ledges, and eight fathoms within a cable's length of the SW. rock.

The eastern branch of the Ooro falls into the sea three miles from the former branch, and the whole space between them is occupied by successive chains of rocks which stretch out more than a mile from the beach. Its mouth is concealed from vessels in the offing, by large granite boulders, but it, as well as the western branch, is accessible to the country canoes. Subono, or Little Wappi, a large native village, stands on the right bank of the river, near its mouth.

197. Southeastward one and a half mile from Little Wappi, across a small bay, is Wappi Point, with a lagoon of no great extent, but which spreads both ways along the coast, and on which are the remains of another native town that was called Great Wappi. The outlet of the lagoon is obstructed by rocks and a broad ledge, partly above and partly under water; stretches in a westerly direction for nearly a mile from the shore. Due S. from the end of this ledge about a mile, and SW. by S. from the opening of the lagoon, there is a rock called Flat island by our traders, but by the natives Totwarrah. There are ten fathoms within half a mile of it to the westward and southward; but, from the bearing of SE. by S., all round its eastern side, confused masses of reefs and shoals extend nearly to Middle Nifou, sweeping round far to the southward and almost filling up the whole space between the exterior reef and the shore. Inside of these reefs, and therefore sheltered by them, there is good landing at Little Nifou, on the western side of its rocky point, and on each side of it there are streams of water which are open in the rainy season.

198. At Middle Nifou there are two small rivers—one from the NW., and the other from the NE. They unite in a short lagoon, the outlet of which is open only in the rainy months. The town lies between these; and a mile further, there is another native town, called Great Nifou, off which a shallow reef projects three-quarters of a mile SW.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W., with a detached three fathoms rock half a mile to the westward of the end of the reef.

199. Two miles from Great Nifou, a stream of some magnitude falls into the sea. It is called the Droo, and carries six feet over its bar, inside of which it deepens to four fathoms. The best entrance is round the southern point, which is low and rocky, with some large outliers. The opposite point is a sandy spit, which stretches well over towards those rocks. Off its mouth, there are several dangers. One of them, called by the natives the Drootah, is a large block of stone, which shows itself; but a sunken reef stretches out from it to the westward, and to the northward there is a large patch of foul ground. A ledge of three-quarters of a mile in length lies outside of the south point of the river; but there is a three-fathoms channel between them. Two breaking rocks may be seen to the eastward of this ledge; and all the soundings in its vicinity, as well as round the Drootah, are suspiciously irregular, with rocky ground, so that, unless with a view of communicating with the shore, no

vessel should venture to approach it here within twenty fathoms or about three miles.

200. From the rocky point of Droo river, it is about three miles to the Eserecos river, close to the mouth of which there is a large rock, and some scattered rocks a little to the westward of it, as well as a patch on which the sea breaks; but there is a channel two fathoms deep, close along the coast, inside of all these rocks.

Baddoo consists of four towns, which stand on the coast to the westward of the river; and in their vicinity the ground has been well cleared by the natives, and produces abundance of rice. There is tolerably good landing under the lee of the large rock above mentioned, which is about twenty feet high. The entrance of the river is only passable by canoes. Baddoo Point curves out to the southward from the mouth of the river. It is low and sandy; but, half a mile off its pitch, there are several dry rocks, the largest of which is called Dead Islet, with several outlying reefs. The outermost of them bears W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N. from the islet two miles and a quarter; another NW. by W. nearly a mile; and they are all known to seamen by the general name of the Baddoo shoals.

201. The Monkey rock lies S. by E. two miles and a quarter from Dead Islet, and between them there are several reefs and rocks—some of which show above water. The Monkey is one mile and a quarter from the shore, and, as well as the breaker to the westward of it, in the stream of ten fathoms; but all the soundings for half a mile to the southwestward of it are irregular, and the bottom foul and rocky.

Several of these insulated rocks are scattered along this part of the coast. A large one, called the Castle, bears SE. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. from the Monkey two miles and a half. It rises perpendicularly in ten fathoms water, and about three-quarters of a mile from the beach; and vessels should not stand so far in as to bring those two rocks on opposite bearings. The interval of coast between the two points abreast of Dead Islet to Castle rock possesses several small rivers and lagoons; but they are all barred up in the dry season. There is a safe channel for boats with two or three fathoms, and within two hundred yards of the beach—leaving the shoals and islets outside to seaward.

202. These reefs and dry rocks terminate about a mile to the eastward of the Castle rock; and from thence to the river Ferroowah the sandy beach is straight and safe. That river, with its apparently large opening, is only accessible to boats and canoes when the bar is smooth. Its western point is a low spit of sand—the eastern point a bold rock, on which stands the native town of Katoo. The rocks and boulders recommence at this river—there being three near its entrance—and reefs extend from them nearly half a mile to the southward. A large, rocky patch was found two miles W. by S. of Katoo Point, with only six fathoms on it; and nearly in the same direction, but five miles off, several canoes were fishing on a still larger patch of foul ground at the depth of twenty fathoms. Information likewise was obtained of a third patch, with seven fathoms, in the stream of nineteen fathoms, but the surveying boats failed in finding it; and, fourthly, the Pashoo, which lifts its two rocky heads above water, in the stream of nine fathoms, and bears S. by W. a mile and a half from the mouth of the Ferroowah.

203. From Katoo Point to Subboo Point, the coast forms four sandy bays, with rocky points, and many large dry-rock breakers, inside of

which there is a boat channel. The native towns of Picaninny Sesters and Wayako are in this interval.

In front of Wayako, nearly a mile from the shore, and two-thirds of a mile ESE. of Pashoo Rock, there is a shoal patch of 3 fathoms, with deep water on either side of it. Several rocks lie off Sesters Point, at various distances: 1st, The Subboo, a large black rock, NW. by W., two-thirds of a mile from Subboo Point; 2d, a sunk rock between them; 3d, a dangerous rock, SW. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. from the point, with 10 fathoms round it; and, 4th, two patches SSW. from the point, and carrying  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 3 fathoms. From Subboo Point a low sandy beach, clear of rocks, extends nearly two miles to the southeastward; but when it turns more to the southward, towards Sesters Point, it receives the usual accompaniment of shoals and off-lying rocks. Of these, the large rock called the Carpenter will be easily seen; it bears S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. a mile from the point, and S. by W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. from the highest part of Sesters Hill. It may be safely approached from the southward, but a long chain of rocks above and under water stretches from it towards the point, round which there is a very narrow 4 fathoms channel.

201. Behind the point Sesters Hill rises 210 feet above the sea; but between the hill and the point there is a narrow lagoon, just inside the beach, and nearly three miles in length, into which the Grand Sesters river pours that portion of its waters which cannot find sufficient vent over the bar. The mouth of this river is about a mile to the eastward of the point; its western point is low and sandy, while the eastern point is rocky, and pushes a ledge almost across to the opposite shore, so as to leave a very narrow entrance, through which boats can pass only when the water is tolerably smooth.

On a rising ground near the eastern point stands the large native town of Grand Sesters, and two English factories, in front of which a large rock called Factory Island sufficiently breaks the swell to allow boats to run upon the beach with tolerable security. Vessels generally anchor in 13 or 14 fathoms, on a muddy bottom, with Factory Island NNE. upwards of a mile distance. Two miles to the eastward of Factory Islet we come to Ranger Point, with a large native village. The point is rocky, but the intermediate coast is a sandy beach, with a few detached rocks outside of it, and a boat channel of 2 fathoms depth between them and the beach. Some rocks lie scattered off the point, also to a distance of 300 or 400 yards. A mile NE. by E. from Ranger Point the land rises into a kind of table hill, so as to give the top of its dense outline of trees an elevation of 190 feet; and on the same line of bearing, two miles further, there are two little hammocks which are named the Paps.

From Ranger Point, eight miles to the eastward, the coast is low, and thickly wooded, with a clean sandy beach, and quite free of rocks as far as a small, nameless river—which was open, but the surf on the bar did not permit the boats to enter. Both points of the entrance are low and sandy, and there is a village on the eastern one. This river comes from the northward, with a small branch from the westward. N. by E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  E. from its mouth, and fifteen miles inland, there is a hill 700 feet high, which, from its appearance, is called the Sugar Loaf, and several small hillocks lie between it and the shore. There is also a remarkable grove of trees one and a half mile from the eastern point, so that this part of the coast is easily recognised.



205. An uninterrupted sandy beach continues seven miles further to Garraway river, the northern side of the entrance to which is formed by a long low spit of sand, with two straggling native villages called Bushman's Towns, and in front of them a shallow reef extends offshore half a mile. Two rocky patches lie to the WNW. of this reef—one at half a mile, and the other one and a half mile from it; the latter is three-quarters of a mile from the shore, and there is a depth of 6 fathoms in the channels between them.

Garraway Point, on the eastern side of the entrance, is rocky, but a cluster of large rocks, some above and some under water, covers it from the sea; and outside of this cluster, with a narrow interposing channel of deep water, there is an irregular reef of considerable extent called the Long Patch, its two ends bearing from Garraway Point W. by N. and S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W., and its southern angle SW. by S., a mile distance. Another reef, but of a more compact form, lies immediately to the westward of Garraway Point; it has been named the Tryh Rocks, and there is a channel into the river both E. and W. of it. Lastly, there is a solitary rock in the stream of 9 fathoms, bearing from the point W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N., distance one and a half mile. This river is accessible to canoes and to boats in moderate weather, and the usual channel into it lies between the north sand spit and a large rock near the middle of the entrance, which is connected with Garraway Point by a chain of smaller rocks.

There is a remarkable tree behind Garraway town, the top of which is 200 feet above the sea; it lies ENE., three-quarters of a mile from the point, and is used as one of the objects to distinguish the position of the Coley Rock, which lies seven miles in the offing. In the direction of the tree, but nearly a mile further inland, there is also a conspicuous clump of trees. Green Islet lies a mile to the eastward of Garraway Point, in the middle of a large breaking shoal, between which and the sunken rocks, near the beach, boats may pass in  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms.

206. From Garraway Point it is eight miles SE. by S. to Fish-Town Point, the coast between them forming a bay with a clean, sandy beach. In this space are three small rivers: the first, the Jidah, which is closely barred by sand during the dry season, and a mile to the westward of which there is a rocky patch a quarter of a mile off shore, with a four-fathoms channel on the inside, and seven fathoms close to seaward. The Jidah, which flows from the northeast, appeared to communicate with the Garraway river by a narrow lagoon parallel to the coast. The town of New Garraway is on the eastern side of the entrance. Secondly, the Deeah, a small stream, the entrance to which is open, and sometimes passable for boats. From the mouth of the Deeah a long reef, on which the sea breaks with violence, extends W.  $\frac{3}{4}$  N.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles; on its outer end there is a very shoal patch, close to which there are eight fathoms, and on either side of the reef six fathoms. Thirdly, in the bight of the bay the river Manoh, which also is open, though but seldom accessible from the high surf that rolls in along Fish Point.

About half way between the two last rivers a reef, which is steep-to, lies more than half a mile from the beach: a little rocky islet stands close in to the mouth of the Manoh.

207. On Fish-Town Point, which rises about forty feet above the sea, stands the large native town of that name, and near it a factory estab-

lished by Mr. Spence, an English merchant, for collecting rice, which is abundant in this part of the country.

E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. from the point the Table Hill of Kablah, with its large tree, which stands 290 feet above the sea, is a valuable sea-mark for the several dangers to the southwestward of Cape Palmas.

A reef projects two-thirds of a mile from Fish-Town Point on the bearing of west, with seven fathoms close round it, and there is a detached breaker in ten fathoms a mile NW.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W. from that point. Outside of these, at two miles SW. by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W. from Fish-Town Point, is the Cape Shoal, a ledge of rocks always visible—the sea generally breaking on them with great violence, and sometimes on two straggling heads a little to the eastward of the shoal. The channel between Fish-Town reef and these rocks is rather more than a mile wide, and the depth in it varies from five and a half to eight fathoms, and seven close to the points of the reefs. The bottom is generally a coarse brown sand, with several rocky patches.

208. At  $2\frac{3}{4}$  miles W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. from the Cape shoal, the Coley Rock will be found: it is a mere pinnacle on which the least water is 6 feet, with 10 fathoms to the eastward and 13 close to its other sides. From this very dangerous rock, which was discovered in 1795 by Captain Coley, of the ship "Queen," of London, the remarkable tree at Garraway bears N.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles, Kablah Hill E. by N., Rocktown Point E. by S., and Cape Palmas ESE.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The ground between Coley Rock and the Cape shoal is very uneven, having several rocky heads with 4 or 5 or 6 fathoms, and deeper water close round them: two others will be found outside of the Coley W. by N. a third of a mile, and W. nearly two miles. The quality of the bottom is as variable as the depth, being of rock, coarse sand, gravel, and coral. Vessels bound to Cape Palmas with a leading wind may safely pass inside the Cape shoal, which is always distinguishable by its breakers; and, by keeping nearly mid-channel between it and Fishtown Reef, they will have 7 fathoms; but at night it will be advisable to pass outside of all, with Palmas light E.  $\frac{3}{4}$  S. or E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., or, if the light be not seen, in 25 or 30 fathoms. At Middle Point, a little to the eastward of Fishtown, there are a rivulet and a native town, and a reef which projects about a quarter of a mile WSW.

209. Rocktown Point, where there is a large native settlement on each side of a small river which is quite barred in the dry season, is 54 feet above the sea, and makes very distinctly to vessels in the offing. A succession of reefs extends from the point nearly a mile W. and WSW.; but between it and them there is a narrow  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms channel.

From Rocktown Point a sandy beach of about 4 miles in length, and but little curved, terminates at Palmas river. In this space there are two reefs which show themselves by heavy breakers. The outer one is a mile SSE.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. from Rocktown, and rather more than half a mile off shore: the other is not quite a quarter of a mile off shore, with a narrow channel of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms; and between the two channels there are  $5\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms.

210. Cape Palmas is a rocky peninsula, joined to the main by a low, sandy isthmus; the highest part of it, which is near the centre, is elevated 74 feet above the sea. Its eastern end is covered by a large collection of native houses called Grandtown; but on the remainder of the peninsula a settlement was formed by the Colonization Society of Maryland, in 1835. It has been named Harper, in honor of Mr. R. G. Harper,

of Baltimore, an able and ardent advocate of the poor Africans, and seems likely to answer the enlightened and benevolent views of its founders. Mr. Wilson, an active and pious missionary, had established himself about half a mile from Harper, and at the time of the survey was zealously devoting himself to the religious and moral instruction of the younger native population.

211. Palmas river washes the northern side of the peninsula; its entrance is about 100 yards wide, but several rocks lie in the channel. At low water a depth of three feet was generally found across the bar, inside of which, as far as the boats went, it seldom exceeded a fathom.

In the direction of the peninsula there are some patches of rock: the first lies a cable's length from the cape, with ten feet at low water; the second is partially uncovered at low water, and lies two cable's length from the cape; and the third or outer rock, which is very small, and carries nine feet water, lies about 500 fathoms from the extremity of the cape. The soundings in their vicinity are irregular, and the bottom foul; but on either side of the ten feet inner rock there are channels with three fathoms water; and again, between the large middle patch and the outer rock there is a wide opening with a depth of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms. Strangers, however, should not make free with these passes, even when coming from the eastward and bound to Harper anchorage, but should round all in 9 or 10 fathoms.

On the south side of Cape Palmas, a small rocky island, nearly covered with grass and shrubs, and formerly used by the natives as a depository for their dead, has been called *Russwurm* island, after the first governor of the American Colony. It is nearly 600 yards in length, with an average breadth of about 70 yards, and a rocky pinnacle on it rises 43 feet above the sea. A ledge of rock extends one hundred yards from its eastern end and terminates in a large rock above water; and half a mile to the eastward of the island, and nearly a quarter of a mile from the shore, there are some breakers with  $4\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms close to their south side. Not quite two cable's length W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. from the western end of the island, there is a dangerous rock with only three feet of water.

The channel which separates the island from the cape affords a good passage to boats, provided they avoid a small rock which lies in the middle.

Behind Cape Palmas there is some elevated land, the highest part of which is called the Flat Mountain, and bears N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. from the cape, distant 25 miles. The outer edge of the bank of soundings approaches the cape within 13 miles.

The spirited inhabitants of this colony have recently erected a lighthouse on the pitch of Cape Palmas; the light is fixed, and stands about 100 feet above the sea.

212. On the full and change days of the moon, it is high water at 4h. 30m.; but the rise of spring tides scarcely exceeds 4 feet.

213. Another of those narrow, stagnant lagoons, so many of which have been already described on this coast, stretches for 6 miles to the eastward of Cape Palmas. It appears to be fed by a small river, which, except in the rainy season, has not power to break through the sandy barrier that separates it from the sea. The place of this occasional outlet is marked by the depression of the beach; and on each side of it there is

a native village, the inhabitants of which, it is said, sometimes empty the lagoon, by an artificial channel, in order to take the fish.

214. The beach to the eastward of the cape is steep, with one or two conspicuous masses of stone, and some under-water rocks in the surf, as well as at a greater distance in the offing. Of the latter, one bears SE.  $\frac{1}{4}$  E. from the light-house nearly 2 miles, carrying three fathoms. In the same direction, but three quarters of a mile farther off, there is a five fathoms rock; and SE.  $\frac{1}{4}$  S. 4 miles from the light-house, and in the stream of twelve fathoms, the patch lies on which his Majesty's ship "Athol" struck in 1830; its distance from the nearest shore being 2 miles, with Cape Palmas bearing NW.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N., and Growa Point east. The whole interval between those two points is full of rocky heads, but at too great a depth to bring a ship up, except the three above described, as well as a long series of reefs which project nearly 2 miles to the westward from Growa Point. The sea breaks violently on these reefs, which are steep-to, and towards which no vessel should approach at night nearer than fifteen fathoms. There are two native villages near the point.

215. A mile and a half to the eastward of Growa, Cavally Point forms the southern extremity of this part of Africa, in latitude  $4^{\circ} 21' 12''$  N., longitude  $7^{\circ} 35' 35''$  W. The point, which may be distinguished from the adjacent sandy shore by its black rocky appearance, is encompassed by reefs extending half a mile to seaward. A village called Half Cavally stands on the point, and three other villages a little to the eastward. A mile and a half from Cavally Point there is a large rock which rises from a reef more than a quarter of a mile from the beach; and a mile farther, there is another ledge about half a mile from the shore, with another large dry rock. Sunken reefs lie close along the coast abreast of this ledge, and between them there is a narrow channel with  $5\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms. These rocks lie comparatively out of the track of navigation, but between the point and river of Cavally there is a large and dangerous ledge, the outer point of which rises suddenly from ten fathoms, and stretches from thence towards the river. From that outer point Cavally Point bears NW. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. more than two miles, and the white house, at the mouth of the river, ENE. about the same distance. Cavally river issues between two low and sandy points, with a bar before it, which is not always passable by boats. On the western point there is a native town, and near it a white house which belongs to the American settlement at Cape Palmas. A little without, or to seaward of the bar, there are some detached rocks with four and a half fathoms close to the southward.

About three miles to the eastward of Cavally river there is a small rocky islet, half a mile off shore, with a long reef extending from it WSW.; and from the point of the reef to the beach the space is filled with a succession of breakers and ledges of rock.

216. From the above islet to Tafou Point the shore consists of a waving line of sandy beach, along which a few rocks are dispersed at intervals, along with several villages, which convey the idea of a numerous population. The interior appears to be one dense continued forest, but rising occasionally into clumps, either from undulations in the ground, or from the character of the trees. Some of these clumps attain the height of nearly 200 feet above the sea. Tafou Point may be easily distinguished by four tall palms; it is a little bold cliff, with three fathoms close to its foot.

A small river, after expanding itself into a long lagoon, issues about 250 yards to the eastward of the point, through a narrow channel not more than 55 yards in breadth. From Wilson Point a bed of sand and rocks, some of which are dry, stretch out to the SE. and nearly to Tafon Point; and on the bar between it and William Point there are only three feet at low water. This shallow channel lies along the eastern shore, till a spit of sand, which projects from Wilson Point, and is nearly a wash, is rounded; and even then the water scarcely deepens for a mile within the entrance; nevertheless, this little river is a convenient place for wooding and watering, being easy of access to a ship's boats, as the bar is generally smooth, and having good anchorage, in seven fathoms, within a quarter of a mile of its mouth. At the last of the ebb-tide good fresh water may be obtained in any part of the river; but it is more prudent to procure it about half a mile up abreast of a little detached sand-bank, where the boats may anchor in the middle of the stream and fill their casks alongside. To obtain wood it is necessary to secure the consent of the neighboring chiefs, who style themselves, respectively, the River King and the Hill King. The former possesses two open towns at the entrance of the river, while the dominion of the latter is confined to a single village; but it stands on a rising ground, about half a mile to the eastward, and was well stockaded. They are at first very unreasonable in their demands, but a little patience and a few presents will generally succeed; and then, besides being unmolested while watering, some small cattle, sheep, goats, and fowls, with bananas, sweet potatoes, cassada, pumpkins, and rice, may be procured in exchange for old clothes, tobacco, biscuit, and empty wine-bottles, which latter are always in great request.

Colored cloth and most manufactured articles fetch their full value all along this coast, and are equally coveted by both the kings and their subjects; but above all other things, muskets, powder, and spirits are the great objects for which they contend, and with which they are too often supplied by mischievous visitors.

Some dry rocks lie to the eastward of William Point, and also off James Point, as well as some sunken patches; but the best description of them will be found in the plan. Off the Hill King's village there is likewise a small reef, and all these rocks have  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms close to their southern faces. The most dangerous of them lies a quarter of a mile S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. from Hill King Point; it carries but three feet water, with three fathoms close round it.

On full and change days of the moon, it is high water at 4h. 45m.; spring tides rise four feet.

217. From Tafon Point the coast trends about E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N. to Tabou Point, which is low and foul; and S.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. from which, at three quarters of a mile distance, there is a rock with only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms, but steep to from nine fathoms round it. Tabou Point is double, with a village on each of its angles, and close round it to the northward is a barred up river, open probably during the rains.

A mile beyond the point there is a large native village, called Grand Tabou, with an insulated reef in front of it about a quarter of a mile from the shore.

218. The bight between Tabou and Basha Points, except at the above reef, is clean, with regular soundings and with the usual sandy beach; but Basha Point is tipped with rock, and the town upon it stands fifty feet

above the sea. A chain of reefs also commences half a mile to the westward of the point and continues one and three-quarters mile to the north-eastward. They extend more than half a mile off shore, and lie in detached patches, steep-to on the outside, with a boat channel between them and the beach. Basha Point may be known by a large flat-topped tree at the town, and also by a grove which stands about three hundred and forty feet above the sea, on a rising ground N. by E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E., five miles distance; Doo Enoon hill, fifteen miles in nearly the same direction, is likewise a conspicuous object. About a mile to the eastward of the point Grand Basha river makes its exit, and, like the major part of the rivers on this coast, forms a junction with another stream just at the seashore. There is a bar before it, and also two reefs a short distance outside of the bar, leaving a narrow boat-channel between them.

219. From thence three and a half miles of a broad and nearly straight beach lead to Wappoo Point, a small rocky cliff, on which a native town stands about sixty or seventy feet above the sea, and quite safe and bold on its southern face. But to the eastward there are some straggling rocks along the shore for the space of a mile, none of which project more than three hundred yards. At Wappoo there is a large tree similar to that at Basha, and a mile N.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. from the tree there is a grove, the top of which is about three hundred and fifty feet above the sea.

There is no permanent opening through the beach at Wappoo, but a large body of water that accumulates there sometimes issues just to the westward of the cliff. This water is connected with a long and very narrow lagoon which lies close behind the beach and reaches to the river Poor, a distance of nine miles. The sandy barrier that separates this lagoon from the sea is, as usual, covered with trees, but occasional bare spots show where the swelling waters burst through it in the rainy season.

220. Poor Point is on the western side of the river; it is low and rocky, and some rocks run off to the eastward more than a quarter of a mile in front of the entrance, which is very narrow, but not entirely closed. These rocks, many of which are above water, are steep-to, having four fathoms close to them to seaward. The main branch of the Poor comes from the northward. From the river Poor to the rocky bluff of Kadahboo, the distance is ten miles ENE.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. The coast between them consists of a succession of sandy bights with rocky points, and the whole country appears a vast forest rising gradually into dark wooded hills, one of which, called Bereby Copse, (N.  $\frac{3}{4}$  W. two and a half miles from Poor Point) is three hundred feet above the sea. The native town of Half Bereby stands upon the second point from Poor river, and the numerous villages near the shore show it to be thickly peopled. At the third point, three miles from Poor river, commences an extensive line of reefs, lying parallel to the coast for four and a half miles, and terminating rather more than half a mile to the SW. of Divile Rock. The average breadth of this chain of reefs is about a mile, and there is a safe passage for boats between it and the shore, with irregular soundings from one and a half to four and a half fathoms. This whole chain is steep-to, on the outside there being six fathoms within a few yards of it, and further out there are no dangers, the soundings being quite regular from thirty fathoms at five miles in the offing.

221. Divile Rock is a large oval mass, rising forty-six feet above the sea: the base is dark, but the numerous sea-fowl, of which it is the constant resort, have blanched its flat summit. It lies about two and a half miles

WSW. of Kadahboo Bluff, and two-thirds of a mile from the shore abreast of it. ENE. from it, a third of a mile, there is a sunken rock, upon which the sea breaks. These rocks are both steep-to on the south side, having six fathoms close to them; and there is a channel of four to five and a half fathoms between them and the shore.

222. Kadahboo Bluff is a bold rocky point in latitude  $4^{\circ} 39' 0''$  N. and longitude  $6^{\circ} 54' 15''$  W. The southeast extremity is cleared of trees; and the bare summit, on which stands the native town of Yeh, is one hundred and twenty feet above the level of the sea. From the bluff the shore makes a sudden turn to the northward for about a mile to the mouth of the Nahmo river; and on a rising ground in the interval stands Grand Bereby. Abreast of this town and a quarter of a mile off shore, there are some rocks called the Goomarah Reef, with a boat channel between them and the beach. The Nahmo river pours out a small volume of water, but its sheltered position enables it to keep down the bar so as to be always open for boats. There are some rocks immediately off its mouth with two fathoms inside of them.

There are several hills by which this place may be recognised from the offing, two standing together called the Sisters, three miles NW. of the bluff; Acol, a sharp pointed hill NNE. five miles; and sixteen miles in the same direction, the Oval mountain, one thousand three hundred and fifteen feet above the sea. When near the shore it is known by the sudden recess of the bay and the peculiar form of the bluff, as well as by Katum Rock, a large white mass which lies a mile and a quarter ENE. from the point of Kadahboo.

223. From Grand Bereby there is a long waving line of sandy beach trending about E. by S. thirteen miles to Tahou Point, which is rocky. The numerous native settlements along this part of the shore are called generally the villages of Tahou. The land is thickly wooded and of moderate elevation; the tops of the highest trees near Tahou Point being two hundred and ninety feet above the sea.

In this extent of coast there are many rocks, large and small, above and under water. The first group occurs  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile to the eastward of the large white rock of Katum; it is more than 2 miles in length, and runs off three-quarters of a mile from the shore. (2) At  $5\frac{3}{4}$  miles from the Katum, and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  mile from the shore, a large white rock with 9 fathoms round it, to which the natives have given the name of the Brooni, or White Man. (3) Some breakers rather more than half a mile WSW. from the Brooni, in the stream of 10 fathoms; and (4) abreast of it, near the shore, there is a patch of dry rocks, with a channel of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms between them and the beach. (5) E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., 2 miles from the Brooni, a rocky ledge with 5 fathoms, in the stream of 10 fathoms. (6) Half way between that ledge and Tahou Point, and about half a mile from the beach, a sunken rock, inside of which there is a channel of 5 fathoms. (7) A mile further to the eastward another patch, nearly in the meridian of a high grove of trees. And (8) just to the westward of Tahou Point, a series of rocks commences which nearly surrounds the point, and in one place stretches off nearly a mile. Some of them are large masses of dark stone above water, and a narrow channel may be picked out through them, with  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms water. All these rocks are steep-to on the outside.

224. Tahou Point is steep-to, with 4 fathoms close off it; and here the

shore changes its character, broken and irregular hills coming down to the beach.

The river San Pedro, which is 3 miles to the eastward of the point, appears to be a large sheet of water with a little islet in its centre, but during the survey it was entirely barred up by a broad bank of sand. San Pedro Point intervenes between that river and Highland river, which is a fine open stream issuing from behind Highland Point, and into which the boats freely entered by a channel carrying 6 feet at low water. From Tahou Point to this place the shore is fringed by a succession of rocks and breakers, called the shoals of San Pedro; they are all steep to on the outer face; they do not project more than half a mile, and they leave a safe 3-fathoms channel along the beach for boats.

225. Highland Point, which, by its shelter, leaves the bar of the river generally passable, is a rocky peninsula, quite bold, and safe in its approach; and a hill of the same character rises immediately from the isthmus to the height of 350 feet. Another small river appears to the westward of the point.



MAP  
OF  
**LIBERIA**

Compiled from the best Authorities

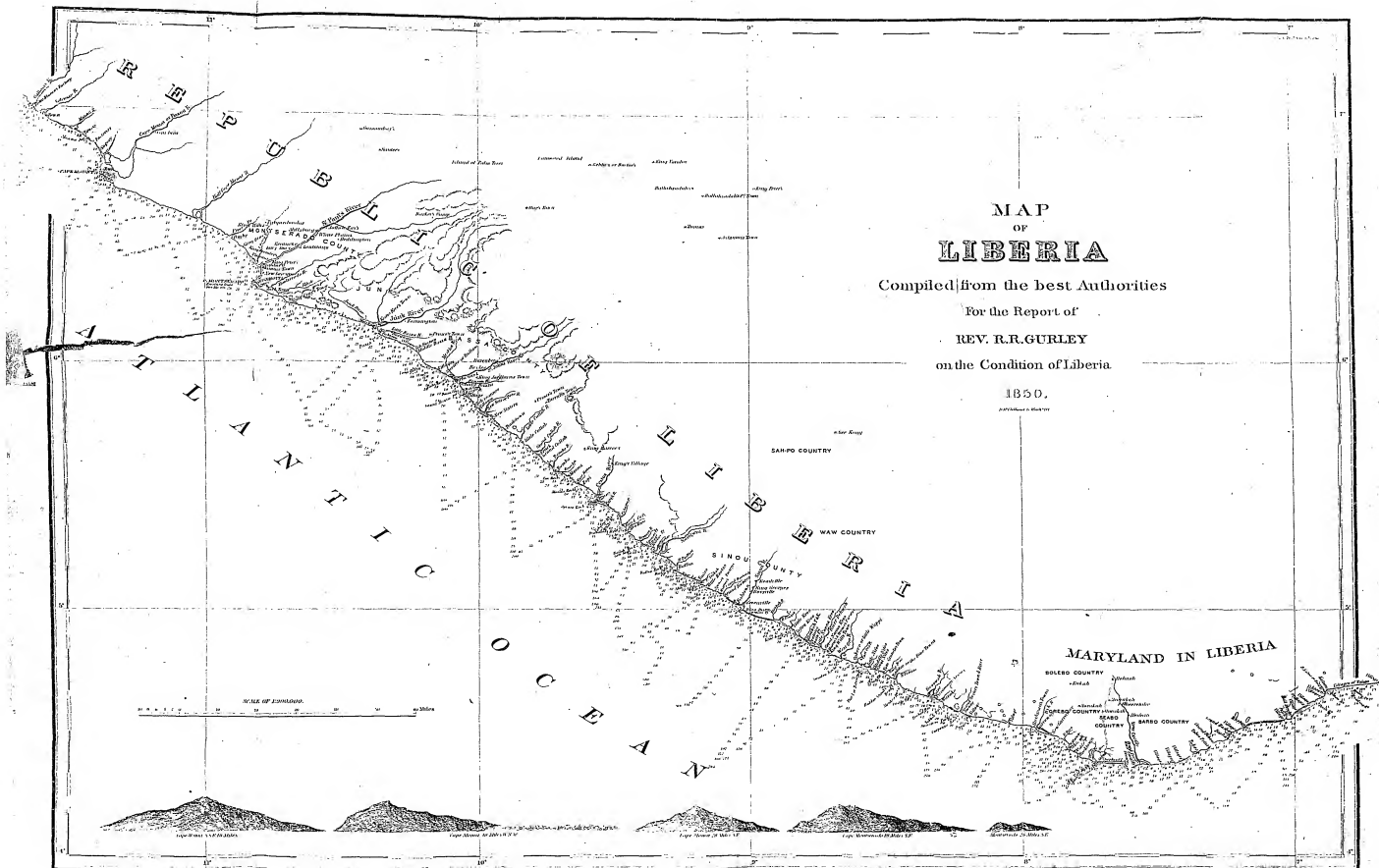
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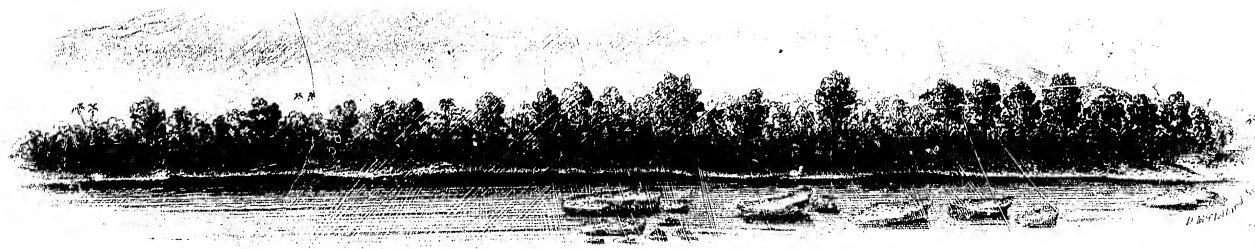
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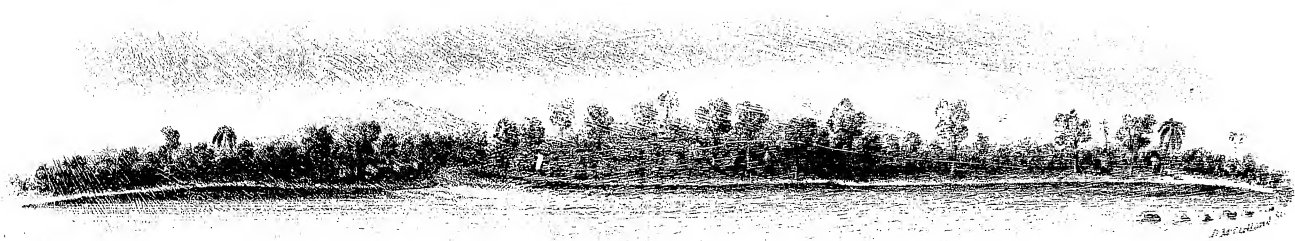
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Published by J. H. Smith





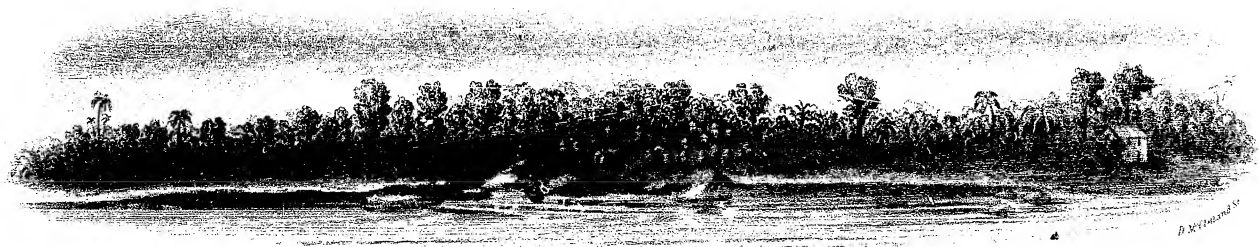
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*Edina.*

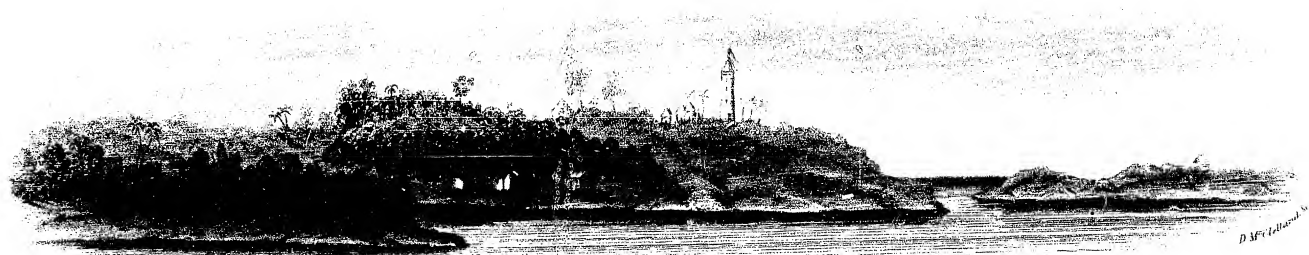
*Basso*

*Fish Town.*



D. W. F. and Co.

Setra Kroo.



*D. M. Colman, Sc.*

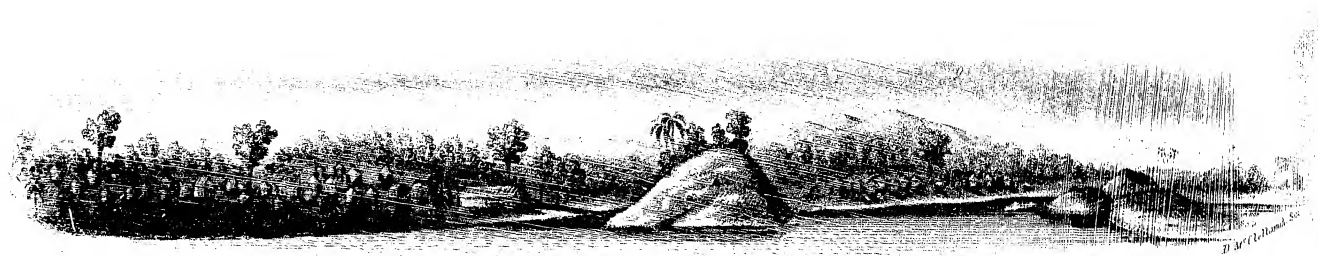
*Dead Island.*

*Cape Palmas.*



D. McCalland & Co.

*Cape Montserrat.*



*Simon. Greenville.*

*Blow Barrow*

## Statement exhibiting the value of imports from Africa generally, (west coast,) from 1844 to 1849.

Ex.-8

Years ending	Bullion and specie.	Dyewood.	Copper ore.	Hides and skins.	Coffee.		Cocoa.		Dates.	
					Pounds.	Value.	Pounds.	Value.	Pounds.	Value.
June 30, 1844.....	\$99,983	\$36,686	\$1,977	.....	500,593	\$34,301	10,903	\$589	.....	.....
1845.....	68,254	16,931	4,398	.....	208,497	20,036	10,600	689	.....	.....
1846.....	58,041	17,018	4,373	.....	84,243	8,529	1,893	354	.....	.....
1847.....	114,334	24,286	188	\$80,096	1,104,428	22,664	16,537	840	181,454	\$2,153
1848.....	88,918	10,166	5,536	168,749	57,567	5,316	869	36	169,207	4,720
1849.....	91,093	3,410	2,811	148,825	88,462	6,915	.....	.....	.....	.....

## STATEMENT—Continued.

Years ending	Nuts.		Cloves and cinnamon.		Red pepper.		Ginger.		Value of all other articles.	Total value.
	Pounds.	Value.	Pounds.	Value.	Pounds.	Value.	Pounds.	Value.		
June 30, 1844.....	698,144	\$10,673	.....	.....	10,900	\$1,058	30,987	\$1,616	\$272,354	\$459,237
1845.....	150,225	2,261	.....	.....	12,885	1,159	64,712	4,495	453,903	572,126
1846.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	19,447	2,711	64,884	4,983	379,031	475,040
1847.....	349,038	8,418	35,058	\$4,142	80,954	9,544	111,913	4,342	288,785	559,842
1848.....	848,452	16,778	82,540	10,807	76,510	5,751	412,987	15,907	322,901	655,585
1849.....	150,264	4,816	.....	.....	27,730	3,661	297,914	10,806	223,405	495,742



## J.—Continued.

*Summary view of the value of exports and imports to and from the west coast of Africa, from 1844 to 1849.*

Years ending	Value of exports.			Value of imports.
	Domestic produce, &c.	Foreign merchandise.*	Total.	
June 30, 1844.....	\$641,306	\$68,938	\$710,244	\$459,237
1845.....	525,563	79,543	605,106	572,126
1846.....	553,380	78,971	632,351	475,040
1847.....	700,431	44,499	744,930	559,842
1848.....	771,389	61,403	832,792	655,585
1849.....	676,769	31,642	708,411	495,742

\* Cottons, and other articles suitable for the trade on the coast.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
Register's Office, February 20, 1850.

TOWNSEND HAINES, Register.

*Statement exhibiting the value of domestic produce and manufactures in Africa generally (west coast) from 1844 to 1849.*

Years.	Flour.		Tobacco.			Spirits.		
	Barrels.	Value.	Leaf—hhds.	Manufactured—pounds.	Value.	From molasses.	From grain.	Value.
1844.....	3,708	\$20,991	2,579	40,813	\$189,330	432,249	17,744	\$124,502
1845.....	4,385	21,756	1,604	32,092	107,024	248,137	52,374	84,169
1846.....	4,755	26,650	785	434,253	87,248	412,379	36,690	133,954
1847.....	25,728	134,164	1,776	125,516	144,331	378,832	34,333	118,538
1848.....	5,838	39,296	2,429	322,349	240,141	243,597	48,348	94,045
1849.....	4,617	27,670	1,582	54,374	139,097	304,665	20,029	92,510

STATEMENT—Continued.

Years.	Gunpowder.		Domestic cottons, &c.—value of.	All other articles.	Total value.
	Pounds.	Value.			
1844.....	497,551	\$52,881	\$149,644	\$103,958	\$641,306
1845.....	576,139	59,560	137,653	115,401	525,563
1846.....	506,486	51,688	149,089	104,751	553,380
1847.....	360,201	38,071	131,267	134,060	700,431
1848.....	543,373	58,076	162,289	177,542	771,389
1849.....	547,329	57,709	164,047	195,736	676,769

## K.

*Statistics of Monrovia, the capital of the Republic of Liberia, West Africa.*

No.		
13	Stone stores.	
3	Wood and stone stores.	
40	Stone dwelling-houses.	
51	Wood and stone dwelling-houses.	
90	Wood dwelling-houses.	
30	Thatch dwelling-houses.	
130	Outhouses.	
3	Churches.....	Methodist Episcopal Church, Baptist and Presbyterian.
2	School-houses .....	Brick and stone, Methodist Episcopal mission, unoccupied; 1 rented by New York ladies, and has 70 pupils.
2	Market-house.....	Stone, 40 by 20 feet.
8	Shoemakers' shops.	
1	Tanning establishment.....	Conducted by D. Wood, esq.
4	Blacksmiths' shops.	
1	Cabinet maker's establishment.	
2	Printing offices.....	No. 1, Methodist Episcopal mission; No. 2, owned and managed by citizens.
1	Prison .....	Stone.
3	Tailors' shops.....	Stone.
1	Court-house .....	Stone.
1	Senate hall.....	Stone.
1	Government house.....	Wood and stone—old and out of repair.
1	English school and pupils.....	New York ladies; pupils 70; teachers, B. V. R. James and lady.
1	Classical school and pupils .....	Presbyterian Board of Missions; pupils, 8; teacher, H. W. Ellis.
	Academies.	